



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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17 February 1989

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Underground Nuclear Explosion Conducted 17 Feb
LD1702071089 Moscow TASS in English 0708 GMT
17 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—The Soviet Union carried out an underground nuclear explosion at 7:01 A.M. Moscow time [0401 GMT] Friday at a testing site near Semipalatinsk.

The explosion, with a yield of up to 20 kilotons, was conducted to check results of research in nuclear explosion physics.

The radiation situation in the testing area and beyond is normal.

NATO's Galvin Urges Short-Range Missile Update
LD1502183289 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT
15 Feb 89

[Text] Brussels February 15 TASS—General John Galvin, supreme allied commander Europe, has gone on record for modernizing short-range nuclear missiles on station in West Germany.

He told newsmen Tuesday that he had prepared a secret report on future NATO needs for nuclear weapons, which would be submitted to the leadership of the North Atlantic bloc.

Galvin urged replacing Lance systems with a newer missile capable of reaching targets 400 or even more kilometers away, a range four times as long as the Lance's.

The new missile should begin to be tested in the near future so that the Lances can be replaced by the middle of the '90s, according to the general.

U.S. Congress is to consider funding for the scheme this year.

It is noteworthy that Galvin made his statement on the eve of James Baker's arrival in Brussels. The U.S. secretary of state is going to hold talks at the NATO headquarters here Thursday.

NATO Differences on Nuclear Modernization Noted
LD1602140889 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT
16 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—By TASS diplomatic analyst Vadim Biryukov:

The persistence with which the United States is foisting upon its NATO allies the idea of modernizing tactical nuclear weapons only goes to prove that the American side refuses to renounce its dangerous policy of nuclear deterrence. This view was expressed here today by a high-ranking official of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Commenting on the statement by Egon Bahr, a West-German Social-Democrat Party expert, who said that the term "modernization", applied to tactical nuclear missiles in the FRG, only served to camouflage NATO's plans to develop and produce fundamentally new missile systems, the official said that "new missiles in Europe would only lead to an escalation of tension and could by no means promote a European detente".

The stands of Moscow and Washington on problems of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe differ substantially. The Warsaw Pact countries have repeatedly offered NATO to start talks on the reduction and subsequent liquidation of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including their nuclear components. At the Vienna negotiations the Soviet side has always advocated the inclusion of tactical nuclear weapons, among them short-range missiles of up to 500 kilometres, in the mandate of the negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe.

The Soviet Union does not modernize its tactical nuclear arms because it believes that such a modernization would be a step back, not forward. As to the United States, the activities of James Baker, the U.S. secretary of state, during his European trip, as well as his public pronouncements reveal Washington's desire to pass a decision on modernizing these weapons already this year.

It was noted in Moscow that James Baker's mission in Europe had run up against certain difficulties. The FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl has stated that replacement of "Lance" nuclear missiles in the FRG by a new missile system could become practicable not earlier than 1991-1992. The secretary of state failed to get support in Denmark and Norway too. The American idea that there is still a Soviet military threat to Europe is growing to be less and less popular in the continent. And this is not wishful thinking. Such a reassessment of values is due to the tangible Soviet unilateral disarmament steps, to the growing climate of confidence, to the regearing of Soviet armed forces to defensive structures.

19 Pershing-2 Launchers Destroyed in FRG
LD1702000689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1900 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] In accordance with the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the latest batch of launchers for the U.S. intermediate-range Pershing-2 nuclear missiles has been destroyed at Hausen, near Frankfurt-am-Main. The work was carried out over the course of 3 days at a specially equipped unit. The destruction process was carried out in the presence of a group of Soviet inspectors. A total of 19 launchers from the missile complexes were liquidated over the 3 days. Thus, 86 of the 114 Pershing-2 complexes sited in the FRG remain. Destruction of the missiles making up these complexes will be carried out on U.S. territory.

Statement on Pact, NATO Arms Submitted to UN
LD1602190289 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT
16 Feb 89

[Text] New York February 16 TASS—The text of the statement by the Warsaw Treaty Defence Ministers' Committee on the correlation of armed forces and armaments of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO in Europe and adjoining sea areas was distributed at the United Nations today as an official document.

CW 'Expert' Discusses Weapons Destruction Plant
LD1702001589 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 16 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Work is proceeding in Geneva on a convention about total prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons. Our correspondent, Dmitriyev, reports:

Collective experience can be said to have been embodied in the 1925 Geneva protocol on the prohibition of use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous, and other gases and bacteriological means. Even today the document maintains its significance and undying effectiveness. But, at the same time, there are no articles in the Geneva protocol determining measures for verification or sanctions. This is its imperfection and weakness. So, experts and consultants under the general secretary of the United Nations, are now preparing a report for the General Assembly. The report will effectively become a supplement to the protocol, increasing its significance and prestige in two aspects—verification and nonproliferation of chemical weapons. [video shows meeting in session; Dmitriyev is seen sitting at a table with the original protocol, where he is joined by A.D. Kuntsevich, identified by caption as "the leading expert of the USSR Defense Ministry on chemical weapons"]

[Begin recording] [Kuntsevich] Within the framework of consolidating the Geneva protocol, which we see on the table, the Soviet Union has already allocated 10 of its qualified experts and 4 laboratories. We are elaborating rules and procedures for investigating cases of violation of the Geneva protocol. Our position is that a principle of obligation should be fixed, or in other words, there should be irrevocability for such investigations.

[Dmitriyev] The Soviet Union has, as you know, declared that it will soon start the destruction of all its stocks of chemical weapons. Are we ready for this?

[Kuntsevich] I have visit our facility in the steppes of Kuybyshev Oblast, where I familiarized myself with the state of the construction of the facility. It is necessary to note that the facility is now at the final stage of construction. The moment for testing the equipment and the method is near. The main parameter for our check is, primarily, ecological cleanness. The second, to which we attach the main attention, is absolute safety for the personnel serving the facility, and likewise for the population of the town and surrounding population points. The point is that this facility must correspond to the highest of requirements because it will be subjected to both national and international verification. I think that we have several months left for all these procedures, and in a few months the Soviet Union will start implementing the program proclaimed by our statesmen, and which has been confirmed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. [end recording]

Book on Vienna CSCE Conference Published
LD1602224489 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT
16 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—The Political Literature Publishing House has published a collection "The Final Document of the 1986 Vienna Meeting of Representatives of Countries-Participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Held on the Basis of the Helsinki Final Act's Provisions on Further Steps After the Conference."

Gremitskikh Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing

Criticizes UK's Howe on Afghanistan

LD1602143889 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT
16 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—"Prevalent in world press reports and statements by political leaders on the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is a sensible approach to the question in hand. They acknowledge the historical significance of this event not only for the process of political settlement in Afghanistan proper, but for all the far from easy complex of contemporary international relations too", it was stated at a briefing here today by Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

"In obvious dissonance with this", he stressed, was the statement made by Geoffrey Howe, secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs of Great Britain, in an interview to the British Broadcasting Corporation. The head of the British Foreign Service qualified the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan as the USSR's recognition of the fact that Soviet assistance to forces resisting outside aggression against the Republic of Afghanistan was allegedly a disaster, which should be overcome as quickly as possible.

Geoffrey Howe spoke of a "bloody and uncertain future" for the country. He actually called for the overthrow of the Afghan Government, with which London has official relations. All this is presented as "concern" for the Afghan people's progress.

"Such a statement by the British minister cannot but cause anxiety," the spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry noted, "since, as we are convinced, the current predicament calls for restraint, for efforts to promote the process of internal Afghan reconciliation by discontinuing without further delay all outside interference, which whips up the civil war in that country. The question arises: What is it that prevails in the British minister's statement—awakened imperial ambitions or shortage of political realism and good will?"

It is pertinent to remind the authors of such statements, Yuriy Gremitskikh said, that such a stand, "especially if it turns into practical policy, is fraught with a grave responsibility for the continuation of the bloodshed in Afghanistan, for the thwarting of a just internal settlement in that country. Hasn't London enough memories of the deplorable aftermaths of its own colonial past, does it wish to burden its conscience with new human sufferings?", the spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry inquired emphatically.

Afghan Vice President Comments

LD1602162289 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT
16 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Afghan questions prevailed at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists held at the USSR Foreign Ministry press centre on February 16. Addressing the audience, Afghan Vice President 'Abdul Rahim Hatif said that "Afghanistan and the Soviet Union demonstrated their commitment to the Geneva accords, and they are well within their rights to demand that other parties also fulfill their obligations".

The spirit and the letter of the agreements, he went on to say, are aimed at putting an end to foreign interference in Afghanistan's domestic affairs, opening a road to normalisation of relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan and strengthening peace and security in the region. However, the main principles of interdependence between obligations and the need for fulfilling them were seriously violated. Pakistan and the USA even did not conceal their intentions to reduce the Geneva agreements only to the withdrawal of Soviet troops and to disregard their own commitments to settle the Afghan conflict.

Some Pakistani leaders, noted the vice president, would like to implement a plan of Afghanistan's annexation under the pretext of "an Afghan-Pakistani Islamic confederation". These intentions of expansion are resolutely turned down by the Afghan people and government, he said. Any decisions by the Shura which does not represent all political forces both inside and outside Afghanistan can lead only to the aggravation of hostility and further deterioration of the political situation in the country.

Now that Soviet troops have left Afghanistan, the Afghan Government calls for a sensible analysis of the present situation. "If interference in Afghanistan's domestic affairs continues, all responsibility for dangerous consequences will rest fully on Pakistan. The Afghan Government reserves the right to take necessary actions in compliance with the U.N. Charter and other international agreements."

"The Afghan people and government hope," said 'Abdul Rahim Hatif, "that the U.N. secretary-general, the depository of the Geneva agreements, will fulfill his functions on the basis of relevant General Assembly resolutions and will use his powers so that other parties also observe these agreements."

"On behalf of the entire Afghan population, the Afghan Government would like to thank sincerely the Soviet people and government for the allround assistance and solidarity in the struggle for national sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of our homeland," said the Afghan president. "We are certain that relations between our countries will continue to

develop on the principles of friendship, goodneighbourliness, mutual trust and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs in line with bilateral agreements, for the good of peace, stability and cooperation in the region and all over the world."

Yuriy Gremitskikh who conducted the briefing, called attention of journalists to a statement by British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe made by him in an interview with BBC. The secretary spoke of a blood-soaked and indefinite future for Afghanistan and actually called for an overthrow of the Afghan Government with which London has official relations. "This position," said the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, "especially if it turns into a practical policy, is inseparable from grave responsibility for continuing the bloodshed in Afghanistan and thwarting a just settlement in that country."

More on Vice President's Remarks

LD1602182289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer Viktor Levin] The situation in and around Afghanistan remains the focus of attention of the whole world. Today Vice President of Afghanistan 'Abdul Rahim Hatif, who is passing through Moscow, spoke at a news conference in the main press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Afghanistan's Minister of Foreign Affairs Wakil met journalists in Kabul. They both drew attention to the continuing violations of the Geneva accords by Pakistan and the United States of America, and expressed their firm conviction that the irreconcilable opposition has no chance of success.

At the briefing at the press center in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Information Directorate at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also described the situation in Afghanistan.

[Begin Gremitskikh recording] Over the past 24 hours no serious military actions have been registered in the country, with a small exception. Formations of the irreconcilable opposition have subjected the towns of Herat, Ghazni, Khowst, and Gardeyz to rocket shelling, as well as security posts in the districts of Mir Bacheh Kowt and Qarah Bagh, and in Parwan Province. The government forces inflicted a retaliatory strike against the points where the enemy is concentrated in Parwan Province. Twelve rebels were killed.

The Kabul-Hayratan and Kabul-Jalalabad are open for motor vehicle traffic. Over the last days 700 trucks have arrived, delivering 8,000 tonnes of fuel and food. A session of the representatives of the parties of the left democratic bloc has met in Kabul, at which members of the Organization of Revolutionary Toilers of Afghanistan were present. The Organization of Revolutionary Toilers of Afghanistan and representatives of other left forces stressed the need for unity of the progressive

forces in the country in the face of the danger threatened by the irreconcilable opposition; and they adopted an appropriate decision in this respect. [end recording]

Gremitskikh on NATO Nuclear Modernization

LD1602222789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1900 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists on current issues of foreign policy has been held in the USSR Foreign Ministry press center, conducted by Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate. He said in particular:

[Begin Gremitskikh recording] The issue of the so-called modernization of tactical nuclear weapons is being discussed in an increasingly animated fashion between the United States and West European NATO countries, primarily the FRG. In the view of observers in Bonn, this was the main topic in the consultations between U.S. Secretary of State Baker and the FRG Government.

The NATO supreme allied commander Europe, U.S. General Galvin, made a statement in which he attempted to sweeten for the West Europeans, and especially the inhabitants of the FRG, the bitter pill of this planned modernization. The general alleged that the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles would make it possible to considerably reduce nuclear artillery, that today's "Lance" missiles are very old, and that it is necessary to develop models for testing.

The NATO supreme commander is being cunning. Not only he, not only experts in the West, but also the public, both in the West and East, know that in actual fact the plans for a so-called modernization of tactical nuclear weapons envisage not simply the modernization of the allegedly obsolete "Lance" missiles, but of tactical nuclear weapons as a whole. It is known in particular that there is an intention to introduce new nuclear weapons systems on the F-16 and F-111 aircraft, and also to redeploy FB-111A aircraft from the United States to Europe.

A paradox arises: The Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies are unilaterally reducing their armed forces by a total of 556,000 men, with the Soviet Union stating that it would withdraw from central Europe formations and units with all their regular authorized armaments, including tactical nuclear systems. In NATO, however, under the guise of modernization, plans for building up nuclear armaments in Europe are being discussed.

These plans do not agree with the tendency toward lowering the armaments levels, and political detente between East and West, especially if one takes into account that the talks on reducing conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe, which start in March this year, create, in our view, good opportunities for a serious dialogue on tactical nuclear weapons. [end recording]

Shevardnadze To Visit Near East

*LD1602160989 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT
16 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is going to the Middle and Near East at a time when favorable conditions are shaping in the world for tangible progress to settling regional conflicts, including the Middle East one, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Yuri Gremitskikh, deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, told a news briefing that this observation is supported, for example, by the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

It is important now to pool the efforts of all sides to launch a negotiating process on a Middle East settlement as well and convene a related international conference, he stressed.

Gremitskikh said Syria will be the first stop on Shevardnadze's tour.

"The Soviet Union is linked to it by feelings of mutual respect and close cooperation in various fields.

"Besides international and regional problems, the Soviet foreign minister's talks with Syrian leaders will cover bilateral relations developing successfully on the basis of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between our countries," the spokesman said.

Talks Begin on Trade, Economic Accord With EEC

*LD1602103189 Moscow TASS in English 1025 GMT
16 Feb 89*

[Text] Brussels February 16 TASS—The Soviet Union and the European Economic Community opened consultations on a projected agreement on trade and economic cooperation between them in Brussels on Thursday.

The Soviet delegation is led by I. Ivanov, deputy chairman of the government's Foreign Economic Commission. The delegation from the Commission of the European Communities (CEC) is headed by Mr. Jola, deputy director-general of the CEC administration for external relations.

Joint Statement With Pakistan Issued at UN

*LD1502192589 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT
15 Feb 89*

[Text] New York February 15 TASS—A Soviet-Pakistani statement was circulated at the United Nations as an official document of the General Assembly and the

Security Council on Wednesday. It was adopted as a result of the talks between the foreign ministers of the USSR and Pakistan during Eduard Shevardnadze's working visit to Pakistan.

Officials Meet Canadian, Mongolian Visitors

*PM1602120989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 14 February Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met with S. Robinson, member of the Canadian House of Commons.

The guest was told about the restructuring of all spheres of the country's socioeconomic life that is being carried out by the CPSU and the Soviet people; reform of the political, electoral, and legislative system; and the preparation for the elections of USSR people's deputies. It was emphasized that democratization, glasnost, and the broad involvement of working people in the processes of renewal are the main guarantee of the irreversibility of restructuring. Note was made of the stable character of Soviet-Canadian relations and contacts between parliamentarians of the two countries.

On the same day, T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met with Zh. Balzhinnyam, Mongolian state prosecutor. There was an exchange of opinions on questions of the work of the two countries' organs of state power, improvement of legislation, and also the activity of Soviet and Mongolian law enforcement organs.

Ts. Gurbadam, Mongolian ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Gusev Receives International Businessmen

*LD1702001389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 16 Feb 89*

[Text] Comrade Gusev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, received Hugel, president of the U.S. firm Combustion Engineering; Miller, vice president of the U.S. company McDermott; and Furui and Jaguchi, managing directors of the Japanese firms Mitsui and Mitsubishi respectively.

Organizational questions concerning construction of joint petrochemical complexes in western Siberia were discussed.

United States & Canada

Bush Supports Continued Arms to Afghan Rebels *LD1702084189 Moscow TASS in English 0819 GMT 17 Feb 89*

[Text] Washington February 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev:

U.S. President George Bush welcomed on Thursday the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan but said the United States is not going to cease its arms shipments to the armed Afghan opposition.

In an interview with reporters in the Oval Office he said that "we support Afghan efforts to fashion a stable, broadly-based government responsive to the needs of the Afghan people".

"The time for bloodbaths is over," the President said.

Asked to comment on a Soviet call for an immediate ceasefire in Afghanistan and an embargo on arms shipments there by all countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union, Bush said: "We will do what we need to do to see that there is a peaceful resolution to this question, that one side does not dominate militarily".

To justify this stand which envisions the continuation of arms shipments to the Afghan opposition, Bush cited the "tremendous amount of lethal supplies" left behind for the Afghan Army.

Throughout the past few months U.S. officials have repeatedly said that the U.S. will continue arms shipments to Afghan opposition groups stationed in Pakistan as long as the Soviet Union continues giving military assistance to the Afghan Government.

Bush's "argument" is a new pretext for justifying Washington's policy of supplying arms to the Afghan opposition which does not conceal its intention of seizing power in Kabul militarily.

In the present complicated conditions the U.S. stand is tantamount to open encouragement of such plans.

China

USSR, PRC Sign Scientific Cooperation Pact *OW1602225689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 16 Feb 89*

[Text] A protocol on cooperation and exchanges between the Soviet and Chinese academies of sciences was signed in Beijing on 16 February. Marchuk, president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and Zhou Guangzhao, president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, signed the protocol. They also signed a memorandum on the exchange of delegations on a regular basis by the academies of sciences of the two countries.

The delegation of the USSR Academy of Sciences has been visiting China since 9 February. The leaders of the academies of sciences of the two countries discussed the prospects of bilateral scientific cooperation.

USSR To Help Build Liaoning Nuclear Plant *OW1602225289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 16 Feb 89*

[Text] A delegation of Soviet nuclear energy experts will visit China next month to sign an agreement to supply China with a Soviet nuclear reactor and build a nuclear power plant in China's northeast province of Liaoning. Liaoning is an industrial region where there is a great shortage of electric power.

***PRC Achievements in Space Technology Noted** *WA1807011989 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 5, 11-17 Feb 89 p 5*

[Article by V. Smolko: "A Step Into Space"]

[Text] The world has known two superpowers in space over the past decades: The USSR and the United States. But against the background of their truly impressive achievements, it seems as if we did not notice the reality accomplished: The entry into the "space club" of a whole series of other states of Europe and Asia. China indisputably occupies a leading position among them.

If the Chinese historians are to be believed, then the first missile was invented in China, back in the beginning of our millennium. And the first launch attempt, to use the modern term, of a rocket with a human aboard was also done by the Chinese. In the beginning of the 16th century (Ming Dynasty), one of the pioneers of Chinese rocketbuilding, Wan Hu, tied 47 rockets to a comfortable chair and lit the fuse. The legendary experimenter Wan perished in the resulting explosion, but historians introduce this as proof of rocketbuilding's centuries-old history in China. Somehow or another, China had indeed become a major space power over recent years.

From Sputnik to Multi-Use Ships

The origin of the Chinese space program dates back to 1956, when a point on the creation of its own rocket vehicles for space research was included in the scientific development program.

The first Chinese artificial Earth satellite [ISZ], weighing 173 kilograms, was launched 24 April 1970. On that day, the melody of the famous Chinese hymn, "The East Is Red" rang out over the planet. China became the fifth country (after the USSR, the United States, France and Japan) to have launched an ISZ with its own carrier-rocket. This was the first Chinese carrier under the name of "Great Campaign-1."

In November 1975 the Chinese scientists succeeded in bringing an ISZ back to Earth. At that time, only two nations had that technological capability: The USSR and the United States.

In the early 1980's, Chinese rocket scientists developed a three-stage carrier rocket using liquid hydrogen and liquid oxygen. The most effective engines work on precisely such a fuel. This "Great Campaign-3" rocket is capable of putting into orbit a payload of more than eight tons, and at present is competing successfully with the European "Ariane" rocket and the NASA "Delta" rockets. The first launch of this carrier rocket took place in April 1984. Quite recently, 7 September 1988, at the launch of the first Chinese experimental meteorological satellite "Feng Yun-1," the new three-stage "Great Campaign-4" carrier rocket was used, with its expanded payload capacity and improved energy unit in the third stage. As the Chinese press stated, the "Great Campaign-4" rocket was designed entirely by the Shanghai Astronautics Construction Bureau and manufactured in the bureau's plant.

At this writing (January 1989), China has launched 25 ISZ's. In 1981 three ISZ's were launched into orbit by a single rocket, and in 1984 and 1986 China put two communications satellites into geostationary orbit, at an altitude of 22,000 miles; they are used for telephone conversations, radio, television and telephoto transmissions.

The launch of the first Chinese astronaut is planned in the coming years and, as the Chinese press announced, by the end of the year 2000 a small multi-use space ship and orbital station will be created. Currently, research is being conducted on the creation of appropriate equipment for such a station.

It should be noted that China has limited financial resources, and its space development expenditures are significantly less than the expenditures of the Soviet Union and the United States for these goals (according to Chinese data, 0.5 percent of the capital investment of the United States and the USSR, 10 percent of the expenditures of Japan and Western Europe). Under these conditions however, China has managed to launch about the same number of satellites as Western Europe and Japan.

At this time, three space launch centers exist in China. As far as flight control is concerned, it is provided by five special centers of space communications and control. It should be said that today's China has demonstrated an open approach in regard to its space programs. Not without some pride, Chinese specialists show potential clients various space units. They have even been visited by representatives of Glavkosmos of our country. Judging by the reviews, the technical equipment of the Chinese space centers meets the most current demands.

A Serious Partner in the Aerospace Market

In October 1985 China announced its readiness to offer its ISZ launch services to foreign countries. This offer was not greeted enthusiastically at that time. It was only after the "Challenger" tragedy in January 1986 and a series of unsuccessful "Delta," "Titan" and "Atlas," as well as the European "Ariane" rocket launches, that the companies of many nations began to study the Chinese proposition seriously.

"The Great Wall" state commercial aerospace enterprise was created in China for marketing space production and drawing up contracts. In attempting to collect orders from around the world, it has opened branches in Munich, California, and Redondo Beach. At this time, several dozen companies from 15 countries have expressed interest in cooperation with "The Great Wall" and are conducting substantive negotiations.

There are already concrete examples of this sort of cooperation. In August 1987 the French concern "Matra" tested electronic apparatus in space with Chinese assistance, and exactly one year later, in August 1988, West Germany availed itself of Chinese services.

A Hong Kong consortium is planning to put the "Asiasat" communications satellite into space with the "Great Campaign" rocket, and Australia, two "Aussat" satellites.

A preliminary agreement has been reached with Sweden to put the "Freya" satellite into orbit.

In July 1988 an agreement was signed between Brazil and China on the development and launches of two ISZ's in 1992 and 1994.

For conducting various experiments in space, the Chinese offer their "FSW-1" and "FSW-2" satellites, which return to Earth and can carry 150 and 250 kilogram payloads respectively. China also offers ISZ launch and return-to-earth services. It guarantees launch within 24 months of signing contracts, which says something about the high reliability of Chinese space technology (Western specialists consider this reliability to be the same as that of analogous systems of the Soviet Union). In addition to acceptable launch periods, foreign companies are attracted by the relative bargains of the services the Chinese are offering (15-20 percent lower than the costs using the "Shuttle" series or "Ariane" rockets). In addition, China offers insurance with the People's Insurance Society at rates lower than the international market rate.

PRC Purchases 600 Soviet Satellite Photos
*OW1602013589 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0300 GMT 13 Feb 89*

[Text] Today, we will talk about using space for peaceful purposes—specifically, using satellites to photograph earth. In our country, this is done by utilizing a series of

satellites in space. Our reporter visited the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography under the USSR Council of Ministers, and he made the following report:

A few years ago, Soviet scholars developed a special camera which could detect a 5-meter object on earth from 300 km in space. This camera is currently being employed to photograph earth from the universe. When I interviewed Yashchenko, chief of the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography of the USSR Council of Ministers, he showed me some clear color photographs of motor vehicles on highways. Currently, such photographs are being used by more than 900 organizations in our country. These photos provide information for research in nature, engineering surveys, and environmental surveillance.

Yashchenko told me: Two years ago, the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography of the USSR Council of Ministers started to actively seek contacts with foreign countries. We are selling these photos taken in space, which are of the best quality in the world, to scores of countries including the United States, Canada, Brazil, and many European and Asian countries. Last May, at the invitation of our counterparts in China, some colleagues in our administration and I visited Beijing. We exhibited some photos taken in space. They included photos of the (newly extended) parts of Beijing, Shanghai, Yingkou, and other cities. This aroused immense interest among our Chinese colleagues. China's Administration of Geodesy and Cartography recently purchased from us more than 600 photos of different parts of China's territory. At China's request, we are currently taking many new photos.

Yashchenko further said: In addition to trade contacts, we frequently send representatives to work in China to interpret what they see in the photos taken in space. They impart their rich experience to our Chinese colleagues. The Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography of the USSR Council of Ministers also sells photos of Soviet territory taken from space to foreign firms and organizations. These photos cost \$1,000 a copy. Soviet scholars are currently preparing to launch another space satellite capable of taking very good quality photos in any kind of weather. A new camera has been developed that can photograph a 2-meter object from a distance of 270-300 km.

Qian Qichen Holds Talks With PLO's Qaddumi
*LD1402203589 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT
14 Feb 89*

[Text] Beijing February 14 TASS—China supports the idea of convening an international peace conference on the Middle East under the UN aegis with the view to achieving a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East problem, and will make efforts to this end, China's foreign minister said.

Qian Qichen held talks with Faruq Qaddumi, head of the Palestine Liberation Organisation's political department.

The foreign minister said that China, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, seeks to make an active contribution to the promotion of a peace process in the region.

He said the international community welcomes the efforts made in recent years by the PLO and Arab countries to search for ways to solve the Middle East problem politically.

Faruq Qaddumi pointed out the need to implement UN resolutions for achieving peace in the region.

All conflicting sides, including Arab countries, Palestine and Israel, must ensure national independence and the right to stable life for the Palestinian people, Qaddumi said.

USSR, PRC Hold 'Identical Views' on Mideast
*OW1602183389 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 16 Feb 89*

[Alekseyev commentary from the "Current Events and Commentary" program]

[Text] Dear listeners: Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will visit the Middle and Near East countries beginning on 17 February. He will visit Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, and Iran. Regarding this, our station observer, Alekseyev, has written the following commentary:

Moscow is making positive efforts to mediate conflicts, say the mass media of many countries recently. They reflect rather accurately the purpose of the visit that Shevardnadze is about to begin; that is, to seek a political settlement of conflicts in the Middle and Near East. It is not necessary to prove here the importance of this assignment. The Soviet Union holds that it is of great significance to settle these (?conflicts).

I wish to point out, with satisfaction, that the Soviet Union and China share identical views on resolving conflicts in the Middle and Near East. An example is the inclusive plan on the Near East. The Soviet Union favors the convocation of an international conference on the Near East under the auspices of the United Nations, participated in by all permanent members of the UN Security Council. It is very important that the Soviet Union and China, both permanent members of the Security Council, take an identical stand on this issue.

Another example is Iran-Iraq relations. The Soviet Union and China have done tremendous work in stopping the war between Iran and Iraq, which has taken the lives of hundreds of thousands of people, although the

conflict has not yet been settled completely. Many complex issues remain to be resolved, especially the guarantee of enduring peace in the Persian Gulf. During the visit to Middle and Near East countries, especially Iran and Iraq, Shevardnadze will discuss with them ways and means for settling the conflict.

Of course, the restoration of peace in Afghanistan is a major issue. As China has pointed out, it is the most acute and pressing task at present. With the departure of the last Soviet soldier from Afghanistan on 15 February, the Soviet Union has fulfilled the obligations stipulated in the Geneva agreements. What shall be done in the future? In holding out the olive branch to the Afghan opposition parties, Kabul has proposed the formation of a broadly based Afghan government participated in by all political forces without any preconditions. Regrettably, however, relying on foreign aid, leaders of the armed opposition factions have turned a deaf ear to this rational proposal. What can be done in order to stop the bloodshed? Iran and other Arab countries in the Near East that are capable of exerting great influence on the Afghan opposition parties can play a big role in this aspect. I predict that the Soviet foreign minister will discuss this question in his talks with leaders of the Middle and Near Eastern countries.

Civil Aviation Links With PRC Detailed
OW1302121689 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] The second Sunday of every February is celebrated in the Soviet Union as Civil Aviation Day. This year, it will be the 12th time to mark the day. The following is by our reporter (Yunusov):

The Soviet civil aviation industry was launched in February 1923 when our country established the Civil Aviation Committee at Lenin's suggestion. Now it is called the Ministry of Civil Aviation. In the summer of that year, the first flight route was opened to link Moscow with Nizhniy Novgorod, which is called Gorkiy City today. The flight route was only 420 kilometers long. Today, the total length of all air routes covered by Soviet civil aviation exceeds 1 million kilometers. Last year, 11.9 million passengers were transported, and the cargo handled exceeded 3 million metric tons. The civil air routes in the Soviet Union now link all republics, remote regions, oblasts, and many regional centers. Soviet civil aviation also enjoys very high prestige in the world. Today, the Soviet Union has signed government to government air transport agreements with 102 countries, including China.

Yakovlev, a functionary in the Soviet Ministry of Civil Aviation, has this to say about the development of civil aviation links between the Soviet Union and China.

He says: [Begin recording in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] Before 1986, there was only one flight a week over the Moscow-Beijing route flown by the

Soviet International Air Services Central Administration. The Civil Aviation Administration of China also arranged only one flight a week. The type of aircraft used was the Il-62 passenger plane. Generally speaking, the arrangements met the needs of both sides at the time. However, the contacts between our two countries started to become more frequent in many fields and the volume of passengers began to increase rapidly. Therefore, we signed a new agreement with the Civil Aviation Administration of China in 1986. Each side added a flight over the route between Moscow and Beijing. In January 1989, the Soviet Ministry of Civil Aviation and the Civil Aviation Administration of China signed a protocol to further develop the air transport between our two countries. The Soviet International Air Services Central Administration will increase a flight in 1989. In addition, two new air routes will be inaugurated. One of these will connect Khabarovsk with Harbin, and the other will be between Alma Ata and Urumqi. The purpose is to facilitate the development of cooperation between border areas of the two countries. The protocol also anticipates the opening of air routes between Moscow and Shanghai, Leningrad and Beijing, as also a route to Southeast Asian countries, with an overflight above but without any landing in China. The Chinese side will also have the right to inaugurate a new route to Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany with an overflight, but without landing on the territory of the Soviet Union. China will have the right also to open another flight for the Beijing to Moscow route.

The airplanes used by the Soviet International Air Services Central Administration for the air routes from the Soviet Union to China are of the Il-62 type. In the near future, the planes that will fly the routes between the cities of the two countries will be the Il-96 type passenger plane built in the Soviet Union. The new type aircraft will be more economical, comfortable, and spacious. [end recording]

New Customs Office Reports 'Brisk' Traffic
OW1502125989 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carried a dispatch from a newly established customs office on the bank of the Amur River, not far from Blagoveskchensk City.

The office director, (Stevannov), said: Before 1 February this was only a customs checkpoint. Since the resumption of direct exchange between Soviet and Chinese border areas, trade, cultural exchange, and tourism between the Amur region of the USSR and the PRC's Heilongjiang Province has increased markedly. The exchanges between Blagoveskchensk City and Heihe City, separated by the Amur River, are particularly brisk. (Stevannov) said: The number of vehicles passing through this office in January was three times greater than that of last year.

Northeast Asia

Japan-U.S. Military Exercises Said 'Offensive'

OW1602175489 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1000 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] The joint Japan-U.S. military exercise, which has been conducted in the northern part of the mainland of Japan for 1 week, is coming to an end, and preparations for the next joint military exercise, to be conducted on Hokkaido from 1 to 14 March, have begun. When we consider these military exercises, we cannot help but point out one thing: What draws our attention, among other things, is that the northern areas of Japan have been chosen as the sites for the joint military exercises. Ordinary people, even if they are not military experts, can understand which country is the hypothetical enemy country in the scenario of the exercises. It is well known that when the Japanese military speaks of the so-called threat from the north, it has in mind the Soviet Union. However, such a threat does not exist at all. Recently, I visited Khabarovsk City to meet Lieutenant General (Koharyov), chief of staff of the Far East Military District. Chief of Staff (Koharyov) declared that in the conduct of military exercises, Soviet forces have never planned any landing on Hokkaido or any other areas of Japan. Japanese and U.S. intelligence agencies are believed to be aware of this. Therefore, it is natural to question why the Soviet Union is the hypothetical enemy country in the latest joint Japan-U.S. military exercises.

In my personal view, there appear to be two major reasons. First, it is aimed at using the Soviet threat to justify the military buildup plan in Japan. This was pointed out last year by Inokuchi, a professor at Tokyo University. Professor Inokuchi said that the Japanese Government's military buildup efforts could not earn public trust and have no grounds without the existence of the Soviet threat. The second reason for seeing the Soviet Union as the hypothetical enemy country lies in the direction of Japan-U.S. military exercises. Public opinion has been persuaded that the military exercises are of a defensive nature. However, I must argue against this. For example, units from the U.S. 3d Marine Division in Okinawa participated in a military exercise in the northern area of mainland Japan. As we are well aware, the major assignment of the Marine Corps is to conduct landing operations that can be called a part of offensive activities. Some 400 soldiers from the 25th Light Infantry Division in Hawaii will participate in the joint military exercise on Hokkaido in March. This will draw attention. Judging from remarks by U.S. military command officers, these divisions, with their high offensive capabilities, can be rapidly deployed to any area in the world. Thus, the participation of these units in the latest and next military exercises shows that these military exercises are aimed at training for offensive operations. According to the command of the Ground Self-Defense

Forces, one of the objectives of the latest military exercise was to conduct high-level training under the conditions of snow and cold temperatures in winter. Most of the areas in Japan have no such weather conditions, but areas in the Soviet Far East have such weather conditions. When I consider all of these moves, I, as a military commentator, cannot help but draw the conclusion that the Japan-U.S. military plan is aimed at conducting combat operations in Soviet territories. It is clear that this plan and the military exercises conducted under the framework of the plan are of a provocative nature.

Compared with the Soviet decision to unilaterally reduce its troops, including those in the Far East, the military offensive in Japan is hard to justify. This attitude not only hampers the strengthening of mutual trust in the Asia and Pacific region, but, objectively speaking, obstructs the relaxation of tension in the region.

*'Team Spirit' Exercise in ROK Criticized

WA1801036789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 7 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by A. Golts: "Provocation Under the Name of 'Team Spirit'"]

[Text] As the KCNA information agency announced, American-South Korean maneuvers of the "Team Spirit" series began a couple of days ago. If any of the war games the Pentagon organized annually can be called provocation, it is these maneuvers. In a situation where the tension between the North and South has not decreased for many years, the American war department since 1976 has been conducting military exercises on the Korean peninsula which look like overt preparations for war. More than 200,000 military servicemen are being trained during the course of them. In order to reinforce the South Korean Army and the American troops that are permanently stationed there, some of the U.S. rapid deployment forces are being transferred there. Landing parties are arriving from Alaska, California, Hawaii, and U.S. bases in Japan and the Philippines. Aircraft carrier squadrons are approaching the coast and large aircraft divisions are being sent to South Korean airports. And now comes the moment when all of this immense machine begins to process what in the Pentagon is called "repulsion of aggression." But we are by no means speaking about defensive operations. They are practicing air and sea landings and attacks with chemical and nuclear weapons. (It is appropriate to recall that the United States has placed hundreds of nuclear warheads here and carriers for them, including the Lance missiles).

True, this year they expressed hopes that the military activity in Korea would slow down. For in this situation Seoul can no longer ignore the appeals of the DPRK for dialog. An exchange of opinions has already begun between the North and South concerning the form and level of the forthcoming contacts. Areas of agreement have even been revealed. In this situation not only representatives of the DPRK and the South Korean

public, but also sober voices from the West have called for Washington and Seoul to refrain from the maneuvers and not allow the caterpillar tracks of the tanks to run over the tender shoots of dialog. Thus one article in THE WASHINGTON POST spoke in favor of limiting the scope of the maneuvers. Such a serious military magazine as JAMES DEFENCE WEEKLY even suggested that the maneuvers be postponed...

But in spite of the appeals to reason, the provocative pandemonium has broken loose. And this is not simply a matter of the militaristic inertia of past years. One can see that in the war department influence is still held by forces striving to transform East Asia into a testing ground for their aggressive designs, a region from which they can threaten not only the DPRK, but also countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean. And the Pentagon does not take into account the interests of the nations of the region and their desire to lower the level of military confrontation.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Jakarta Talks Welcomed; Major Differences Seen
BK1702110289 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1230 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Working groups met in Jakarta on 16 February, the first day of the second informal meeting on solving the Cambodian problem. Taking part in this meeting are representatives of the PRK; those of the three opposing Cambodian sides grouped under the so-called CGDK, which is based in Thailand; and delegations from Vietnam, Laos, and ASEAN members. The first meeting of this kind was held in July last year. Here is a dispatch from our Jakarta correspondent, Comrade (Vladimir Pelosavka):

[Begin (Pelosavka) recording in Russian fading into Cambodian translation] It should be noted that there have been fairly good improvements in Cambodia and around the Cambodian issue. For a large part, this is the result of the constructive and active policy of the PRK Government and Vietnam.

One should recall the seven-point proposal put forward by Phnom Penh for solving the Cambodian problem and Vietnam's readiness in withdrawing all its troops no later than September this year if there is a political solution to the Cambodian problem. Therefore, the most important issue this time around is how to prevent the resurgence of the genocidal regime in Cambodia, end outside interference, and build a future for Cambodia as an independent, peaceful, and nonaligned state.

However, in the current stage, major differences still exist on a number of issues among Cambodian parties. The next few days will show whether such differences can be overcome in Jakarta. In any case, the direct and informal talks among involved Cambodian parties can only be welcomed. [end recording]

PRK Decries Pol Pot Role in CGDK Meeting
LD1602191989 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT
16 Feb 89

[Text] Phnom Penh February 16 TASS—The document adopted at the recent Beijing meeting of the three Khmer opposition groupings serves to promote Pol Pot's perfidious scheme to seize power in Kampuchea again, it is stated in the comment of the Kampuchean news service SPK, which has been circulated here. The meeting tried to iron out the differences among members of the anti-government coalition on the eve of the informal Jakarta meeting on Kampuchea, the agency continues.

Formulated in the document is the old demand to dissolve the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. But this would facilitate Pol Pot's return to Kampuchea and would make possible a repetition of the genocide, since the PRK, backed by Vietnamese volunteers, is the only force capable of opposing Pol Pot's "Red Khmer" clique. Furthermore, the comment notes, it would be wrong to put on an equal footing the present lawful government of Kampuchea and the so-called "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea," which does not control a single foot of Kampuchean territory.

The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea heartily greets the results of the negotiations between the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and China. They have made contribution to preparations for the informal meeting at Jakarta. Kampuchea welcomes the goodwill of the Soviet Union and China, their readiness to cooperate for the sake of solving the Kampuchean problem, the agency says. The People's Republic of Kampuchea will continue its policy of national reconciliation. It is striving for a reasonable political settlement on the basis of the Pol Pot clique's non-admission to power. Vietnam will complete the withdrawal of its troops from Kampuchea next September if such a settlement is achieved. The other side should also indicate the exact date when military aid to the opposition will be stopped, the comment points out.

Kampuchea will dispatch its delegates to the informal meetings in Jakarta and wishes it success, despite the intention to boycott it, expressed by those who oppose the achievement of an early peace in Kampuchea, SPK stresses.

SRV Deputy Foreign Minister To Visit PRC
OW1602135089 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0300 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Dinh Nho Liem, first deputy foreign minister of Vietnam, will make a second visit to China, said Nguyen Co Thach, Vietnamese foreign minister, in an interview with AFP in Hanoi Wednesday. The purpose of this visit, he said, will be to promote the normalization of relations between Vietnam and China.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Begins Visit to Mideast 17 Feb

Seen Off by Zaykov

LD1702121989 Moscow TASS in English 1052 GMT
17 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party and foreign minister of the USSR, left Moscow today for the Middle East, where he will pay official visits to Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq and Iran.

At the airport he was seen off by member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow city party committee Lev Zaykov, First Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and other officials.

Present among the persons seeing him off were the ambassadors of Jordan, Egypt and Iraq, the charge d'affaires ad interim of Syria and Iran.

Arrives In Syria, Met by Al-Shar'

LD1702163289 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT
17 Feb 89

[Text] Damascus February 17 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, on Friday arrived in the Syrian Arab Republic on an official visit.

At the airport the Soviet guest was met by Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar'.

Aleksandr Zotov, ambassador of the USSR to the Syrian Arab Republic, and 'Isam al-Na'ib, ambassador of Syria to the USSR, were among the welcoming party.

Syria's Al-Shar' Previews Shevardnadze Visit

LD1702000389 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 16 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Syria and other countries in the Near East are showing great interest in the upcoming official visit of Comrade Shevardnadze to the countries of the region. Here is a report from Damascus by our special correspondent Farid Seyful-Mulyukov:

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Through the ages Syria has always been a busy international crossroads. Various peoples and cultures have encountered each other here. It is not for nothing that Damascus is called an open-air museum. Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir defined the role of Syria in the life of the Near East region as the pulsating heart of the Arab world. [video shows Damascus street scenes]

This figurative comparison has not lost its topicality in the present time. Syria is at the center of the most complex and dangerous regional conflict between the Arabs and Israel. The long history of this conflict shows that it is impossible to build the firm edifice of peace in the Near East without taking the Syrian factor into account. Damascus reacts sensitively to the turbulent events in the region. The struggle of the Palestinians for their national rights, the fate of long-suffering Lebanon, the situation in the Persian Gulf, and relations between the Arab states—such are the priorities of Syrian policy, but it is not confined just to a regional framework. Syria's interaction with the Soviet Union has become an important factor regarding the current fundamental issues, and above all the Near East situation. The Soviet-Syrian dialogue is continuing.

Today I spoke with Faruq al-Shar', the Syrian foreign minister. In an interview for the Vremya program, he said:

[Video shows Seyful-Mulyukov interviewing Syrian foreign minister, with voice-over translation by correspondent in Russian of foreign minister's replies in Arabic] [Begin Al-Shar' recording] We regard Comrade Shevardnadze's upcoming visit to Damascus as a new important event in the development of the traditional friendly cooperation between our countries. This visit is of particular importance in connection with those positive changes occurring in the world community and the search for a way out of the impasse in settling the Near East conflict. This conflict has now entered a phase where the task of unblocking it as quickly as possible has become an insistent demand of the times. In the Near East, the methods of force have shown their bankrupt nature. Collective efforts are required for the practical preparation and convening of an international peace conference on the Near East with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO and the five permanent member states in the Security Council. We think the Soviet Union's peaceful initiatives are serving progress toward a Near East settlement. These initiatives have changed the climate of international relations. They are directed at ridding mankind of nuclear arms and settling regional conflicts.

Syria, which is linked to the Soviet Union by bonds of friendship and close interaction, actively supports Soviet peace initiatives. Our country has always been in favor of the establishment of peace and justice in the Near East. Naturally, during the talks with Comrade Shevardnadze we will discuss the whole complex of Near East and other international problems, as well as matters relating to a further expansion of Syrian-Soviet contacts. [end recording]

30 Soviet Advisers Remain in Afghanistan

LD1702142989 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1220 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 17 Feb (TASS)—"Someone would like to cast aspersions on the Soviet Union's selfless aid to the people of Afghanistan and represent the Soviet

soldiers as occupiers. I categorically reject such fabrications," spokesman of the Soviet Military Command in Afghanistan Army General Valentin Varennikov stated in a conversation with TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy. After the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, Varennikov was appointed commander-in-chief of the ground forces and USSR deputy defense minister.

"At the present time when the prerequisites have been created for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and a cessation of armed interference in its internal affairs, the Soviet troops have returned to their homeland with a feeling that their internationalist duty has been fulfilled," General Varennikov said.

"The withdrawal of the Soviet troops is a courageous, bold decision by the Soviet leadership, the general believes. It is the result of the new political thinking and the policy of national reconciliation being pursued by the Afghan Government." [quotation marks as received]

"The damage caused to the people of Afghanistan has been inflicted not by Soviet troops, which came to the aid of this country. The blame for the innumerable sufferings and casualties lies with those who encouraged the armed opposition and generously supplied it with refined types of weapons, General Varennikov stressed." [quotation marks as received]

The signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan marked a turning point in unblocking one of the most acute and protracted regional conflicts. The path has been opened to a complete and all-embracing solution of the Afghan problem in all its aspects. One should remember, General Varennikov said, that the clause on the cessation of external interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs is the basis of the Geneva agreements, their core. That is why the prospects for a final settlement of the Afghan problem depend on the precise fulfillment by all parties of their obligations. "It is precisely in this way, strictly and responsibly, that the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan are approaching the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements."

"However, other signatories of the Geneva agreements, judging from their actions, would like to reduce the settlement of the Afghan problem only to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, General Varennikov noted. In the Soviet Union, people expect that they will nevertheless display common sense and do everything possible for the strict implementation of the Geneva agreements." [quotation marks as received]

Asked whether Soviet military advisers remain in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of the troops, General Varennikov replied: "Yes, some remain. This ensues from the bilateral Soviet-Afghan Treaty. Some 30 men

remain. These are mainly Soviet specialists, who are necessary for giving various assistance and safeguarding the reception of Soviet aircraft carrying food and other equipment."

Afghan V. President Speaks at Moscow News Briefing
LD1602140989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Feb (TASS)—"Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have demonstrated their commitment to the Geneva agreements and are within their rights in requesting that the other sides likewise carry out their obligations," said Afghan Vice President 'Abdurrahim Hatif at a briefing here today.

Now that there are no Soviet troops left in Afghanistan, he went on, the Afghan Government calls for a sober analysis of the situation that has developed. "If intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan continues, all responsibility for the dangerous consequences will rest with the Pakistani side. The Afghan Government reserves the right to take the necessary action in accordance with the UN Charter and other international documents."

"The people and Government of Afghanistan expect," said 'Abdurrahim Hatif, "that the UN secretary general, as the depositary of the Geneva agreements, will carry out his functions on the basis of the relevant General Assembly resolutions and use his authority so the other sides will observe these agreements."

"The Afghan Government would like on behalf of the entire population of Afghanistan to sincerely thank the people and Government of the Soviet Union for their comprehensive assistance and demonstration of solidarity with the struggle for the national sovereignty, political independence, and territorial integrity of our homeland," said the vice president of the Republic of Afghanistan. We are convinced that relations between our countries will continue to develop on principles of friendship, good-neighborliness, mutual benefit and nonintervention in one another's internal affairs under bilateral agreements for the good of peace, stability, and cooperation in the region and throughout the world."

Afghan Foreign Minister Gives News Conference
LD1602205189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A news conference was given in Kabul today by Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil.

[Correspondent A. Shkirando, identified by caption on TV screen] Yesterday, hundreds of foreign journalists witnessed the end of the withdrawal of our troops from this country. But now the main question that interests them is whether the present regime will be able to hold

firm without the limited contingent of Soviet troops? Speaking at a press conference, 'Abdul Wakil declared that up to this point the extremists and regional international reaction have been directing and financing the activities of the opposition, which have been conducting a war on the pretext of fighting the Soviet troops. [video shows Wakil speaking, intercut with shots of journalists, cameras, notebooks, etc throughout] Now their efforts are directed toward overthrowing the legitimate Afghan Government. To this end, Pakistan, together with its closest supporters, is attempting to create in Islamabad some kind of council from the extremist-minded opposition in order to set up a provisional government. Naturally, all these actions run counter to the provisions of the Geneva agreements and constitute open interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan. 'Abdul Wakil called the plan to set up a confederation to include both Pakistan and Afghanistan—proposed by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan—a further example of such interference. However, our enemies must know, Afghanistan's foreign minister continued, that our battle-hardened armed forces, tens of thousands of PDPA members, its political allies, the national-patriotic forces, and the military formations of the tribes, relying on the support of the whole Afghan people, will be able to defend their country's national sovereignty and territorial integrity. All attempts by the enemies of peace to establish an economic blockade and so create difficulties for the Afghan population, especially for the inhabitants of Kabul, will never lead to the fall of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan. On the contrary, their actions will give rise to even more anger and indignation throughout the Afghan people.

Replying to a correspondent's question about the situation in the areas bordering Pakistan, 'Abdul Wakil said Pakistan has recently concentrated considerable forces in such areas as (Shaman), Bajur Agency, Chitral, and Parachinar, and between 1,500 and 2,000 Pakistani militiamen have been sent to the Afghan Province of Nangarhar.

Now that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has come to an end, we hope the United States of America and Pakistan will honor all their obligations, envisaged by the Geneva agreements, as well as heed world public opinion, 'Abdul Wakil said in conclusion.

Afghanistan Seeks UN Help in Ending War
PM1702144989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Timely Appeal"]

[Text] Kabul—Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil has sent a message to the UN Security Council appealing for the necessary assistance to be provided in ending the undeclared war against Afghanistan.

In the 9 months since the signing of the Geneva accords, the message notes, the Afghan and Soviet sides have done everything in their power to ensure that the accord provisions are unswervingly observed. The Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan has been entirely completed in accordance with the spirit and letter of Geneva. However, Pakistan and the United States have not only failed to end the blatant interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, but are also continuing to increase the scale of the aggression against the sovereign state.

Currently, the message stresses, there are 125 camps on Pakistani territory where detachments of the intransigent opposition are undergoing military training. Foreign troops are directly participating in combat actions on the extremists' side. Convoys of weapons, munitions, and military equipment for the insurgents continue to be sent into Afghanistan from Pakistani territory.

Afghanistan, the statement notes, calls on the UN Security Council to use all means at its disposal to ensure that the provisions of the Geneva accords are also carried out by the other side—Pakistan and the United States.

Soviet Groups Try To Bring Peace to Afghanistan
LD1602180689 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 16 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video talk by Genrikh Borovik]

[Text] Hello, comrades. The last units of our troops have left Afghanistan. The long, grave years of our history connected with that war have ended. They have ended thanks to a courageous and noble decision. They have ended, bringing people one more bitter lesson which is tragic in its essence: No problem is today to be solved, nor can any problem be solved, in a military way. The U.S. war in Vietnam, the Iran-Iraq war, and many more have shown this.

Although all these wars are in a political sense very different, the tragedy of the peoples is the same. Konstantin Simonov wrote these lines: Hills are reminiscent of hills, and grief is reminiscent of grief. The grief of Vietnamese, American, and Afghan mothers is just the same as the grief of our mothers, for there is nothing more frightful than the death of a child, son, husband, or brother. One cannot compare this grief with anything else except the same kind of grief. I speak of this not just in order to recall and condemn what happened yesterday, although we have still largely to get to the bottom of how that decision was made.

I speak of this in the assurance that our new Supreme Soviet will adopt a law under which no narrow group, even of the most high-ranking people, will have the right to draw the people into a tragedy. I speak of this for the following reason, too: Judging by everything, the bloodshed in Afghanistan may not end with the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. The forces that do not wish for a

peaceful settlement are waiting for their hour. It has been declared that Washington's aid to the armed opposition will continue. Troops are being brought to the Afghanistan border. During the recent meeting of the Soviet Peace Committee delegation with the Pope, we asked him to use the influence of the Vatican to avert fresh bloodshed. John Paul II responded that Muslims do not listen so well to him. But among those who want to cause more blood to flow are many Catholics. They are giving money, giving weapons, and inciting a thirst to decide a political problem by violence. The head of the Catholic Church agreed with us, and promised to think about how he can help.

The Soviet Peace Committee calls upon the antiwar organizations of the West and East, especially those who have long been associated with the mujahidin, to avoid a tragedy. We are sure that people of the arts and science, culture and religion of our country will make such a request to their colleagues abroad. At a meeting of the peace committees of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenia, a decision has just been made about the organization of new boarding schools and children's camps to receive children from Afghanistan, including children whose parents are associated with the armed opposition. We are planning to organize talks between diverse political groups of Afghanistan in one of the Central Asian republics. Maybe those talks will not be at the summit level, but they may serve as a model, as an example.

Public forces cannot, of course, stop the flight of bullets or Stingers, but we can—if we all act together—create an atmosphere in the world whereby those who thirst after flesh bloodshed in Afghanistan come to feel that they are under the scrutiny of the whole planet.

Africa-Asia Group Statement on Afghan Pullout
*LD1702090689 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT
16 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—The public in various countries expresses satisfaction over the completion of the Soviet troop pullout from Afghanistan, says a statement of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee circulated here on Thursday.

The USSR thus confirmed its compliance with the obligations assumed under the Geneva Accords. Consistent and strict implementation of these agreements by all the parties would ensure an early settlement to the Afghan problem.

A program of national reconciliation on the basis of an Afghan dialogue advanced by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan offers a real basis for peace in that long-suffering country and meets with broad understanding and support in the World.

The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee demanded that an end be put to interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, that arms supplies to Afghanistan be

stopped under international control. It is only this road that can lead to the creation of a truly independent, nonaligned and neutral Afghanistan, the Soviet public organisation emphasizes.

Soviet, Afghan Envoys Hail Troop Pullout
*LD1602192189 Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic
1700 GMT 16 Feb 89*

[text] Igor Olkov, Soviet ambassador to the Great Jamahiriya, has hailed the efforts of the Libyan Arab people and those of the leader of the revolution made to bring about peace in Afghanistan.

During the news conference he held in Tripoli this morning on the occasion of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and which was attended by brother Mohammad Esma'il Danesh, ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the Great Jamahiriya; a number of press agency correspondents; and Arab and foreign radio, television, and newspaper journalists, the Soviet ambassador added that the Great Jamahiriya had supported the peaceful settlement in Afghanistan and had contributed effectively to a solution bringing about peace in Afghanistan. He continued that the departure of the last Soviet soldier from Afghanistan was in full compliance with the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan.

Mohammed Esma'il, Afghan ambassador to the Great Jamahiriya, for his part hailed the efforts made by the leader of the revolution, and which are aimed at unifying the Arab nation and bringing about peace in Africa. He also condemned the imperialist and hostile provocations against the people of the Great Jamahiriya, which are aimed at hampering the vanguard role assumed by the Libyan Arab people vis-a-vis the cause of freedom and the realization of progress and (?prosperity).

Pakistani Leaders Commend Soviet Pullout
*LD1602184989 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT
16 Feb 89*

[Text] Islamabad February 16 TASS—Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the president of Pakistan, has declared that February 15th, the day when the last Soviet troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan in keeping with the Geneva accords, was a day of really historical significance. In a statement circulated here, he expressed gratitude to the Soviet leadership, first and foremost to Mikhail Gorbachev for deciding to pull out the troops.

Completion of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is a truly historical event for the people of Afghanistan and, doubtlessly, for the peace-loving peoples of all the world, says the statement made by Benazir Bhutto, the prime minister of Pakistan. She expressed gratitude to the UN secretary general and his personal envoy for their efforts, which have culminated in the conclusion of the Geneva accords.

Supply Convoy Headed To Kabul; Missile Attack
*LD1702092389 Moscow TASS in English 0911 GMT
17 Feb 89*

[Text] Kabul February 17 TASS—The irreconcilable opposition again fired missiles at the Afghan capital last night, killing six and wounding three civilians. The BAKHTAR News Agency reports that there were children among the victims. Missiles were also fired at residential districts of Ghazi. Six civilians were killed there.

Afghan Army detachments have dealt a blow at rebel concentrations in Herat Province. Twenty rebels were killed and twelve wounded. The enemy lost a total of fourteen men in Nangarhar and Qandahar provinces.

The Kabul-Hayraton [name as received] Highway remains open to traffic. Some one hundred state-owned and private trucks with food and fuel have climbed the Salang Pass last night heading towards Kabul.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan has addressed two more notes to the United Nations Good Offices Mission in Kabul. They contain several facts testifying to Pakistan's and America's gross violations of the Geneva accords. The notes stress, particularly, that interference into the affairs of the sovereign Afghan state has not ended, but is being continued after the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. With U.S. connivance, Pakistan continues to assist the training of rebels in its territory, is providing them with modern arms, ammunition, supplies and motor transport. The Afghan Foreign Ministry demanded that the UN Good Offices Mission should investigate these facts.

Many Afghan Rebels Ignore Shah Interim Government
*LD1602180789 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT
16 Feb 89*

[Text] Nicosia February 16 TASS—The proposal for officially recognising the Ahmad Shah so-called interim government of mujahidin, which was put forward by several delegates of the Consultative Council (shura) at a meeting on Thursday, does not enjoy support even among opposition members themselves.

The "government", which was formed by the extremist wing of the Peshawar-based Alliance of the Seven last summer, is not taken seriously by three of seven groups forming this alliance. Sebghatullah Mujaddedi, the current leader of the Seven, said during preparations for the shura that the Ahmad Shah Cabinet could not be looked at seriously.

Representatives of the Iran-based Eight-Party Alliance and moderate figures of the Seven led by Mujaddedi continue to refusing attending the Consultative Council proceedings.

Representatives of opposition forces from among Afghanistan's national minorities also stated that they would not accept the shura's decisions whatever they may be. They harshly criticised the extremist wing of the Alliance of the Seven led by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar for denying adequate representation on the Shura to such nationalities as Uzbeks, Turkmens and several others which make up a considerable part of the Afghan population. Attention was also drawn to the Hikmatyar group's close collaboration with Pakistani secret services which finance it and actually determine the political course of the Seven's extremist quarters.

The lawful Afghan Government in Kabul strongly denounced the shura, describing it as an illegitimate organisation which does not represent all real forces both in Afghanistan and beyond it.

For their part, mujahidin field commanders stated that they were ready to form their own government independent of the opposition political leaders who are based abroad.

Article on Cover-Up of Afghan Civilian Deaths
*WA1801019789 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 15 Feb 89 pp 13-14*

[Article by Gennadiy Bocharov entitled: "International Life: Afghan"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

III.

The first of our people in Afghanistan were greeted with flowers and smiles. Their hands were shaken and the first ones were welcomed as friends. Not always and not everywhere, but—for the most part. Thus the illusion was born: They were glad to see us.

Soon, however, the war divided the people. And then the situation became quite confused.

Boys from the Soyuz discovered that along with the people devoted to the ideals of the new life there were those who could betray it. And they did.

The soldiers became convinced that in the villages where the peaceful, true-believing people lived, the ones they had come to defend, they would fire at the Soviet soldiers with all kinds of weapons.

With lightning speed there spread throughout the army rumors about the monstrous outrages committed on the dead, about the beasts who, alas, were actually Muslim fanatics. The soldiers were no longer able to tell which of the Afghans were for them and which were against them. The logic of war ultimately led to mutual hostility. What

seemed unthinkable yesterday seemed ordinary today. Or at least not as unthinkable as it had been. In such situations, once you have gotten into them, as we know, there is no way out.

There was also another aspect.

There is an immense difference between the internationalist volunteers who participated in the events in Spain during the thirties, with their independently developed convictions, and the soldiers of the eighties, who before being sent to Afghanistan were called to formation on the parade ground and told that they were internationalists.

The result was a moral deformation. We did not want to notice that in the black shadow of the Afghan war freaks of all stripes were casting their own dark shadows—foreign currency speculators, narcotics dealers—God only knows how many of them crossed our border from Afghanistan during these years—speculators in firearms, all kinds of them.

For a long time we ignored the fact that there were many sides to the Afghan war. It was as though we had forgotten that any war—the Afghan war included—means not only combat, but also life; that any war produces not only heroes but also scoundrels; that war is a terrible thing for everyone. And along with the manifestation of courage by some, there is the indifference of others—and it is not always the person's own fault. In a place where Ivanov can hold out, Petrov might fail. Some people came out of battle stronger while others went directly to the psycho wards. How many of them were there who lost their minds?

When a soldier is sent to a foreign country, even with the noblest purpose, society should be prepared for very unpleasant things—such as cruelty, bitterness, and hatred. And sometimes also a perversion of the goal itself. Which is what occurred.

The entire country became a battlefield and the soldiers saw all the horrors of such a war. The soldiers recognized the ubiquitousness of its fronts, which crossed through one and the same village and sometimes even through one and the same family. The development of events and the situation itself led to a point I shall be discussing in the next episode. But here I emphasize: the circumstances are not a justification for the cruelty, they are merely an appropriate condition for it.

This must be mentioned one time. And not just in general terms, which are like waste water, but concretely. The more so since the incident that took place in Afghanistan echoed along the banks of the Neva.

...A passenger car was traveling in the direction of the border. In response to the soldier's command to halt, the driver increased his speed.

It might be that this is just the way it seemed to the soldier.

Warning shots rang out. The driver did not react as before. Possibly he did not hear them.

The subunit had one mission: to fight against the caravans that hauled weapons. The region was dangerous and there were constant skirmishes.

"Fire at the car," ordered the subunit commander, Sharayevskiy.

They fired at it.

It turned out that there was no evidence that the Afghan tourists belonged to the terrorists or the rebels. As a result of the shooting the driver was severely wounded, a young woman was killed, another young woman was wounded in the chest, and an adolescent boy was wounded in the arm. An old woman and two youngsters, a boy and a girl, were not injured. The soldiers gathered around Sharayevskiy. He was dispirited.

"What shall we do?"

He answered his own question:

"I shall call the commander. Let him send a chopper to pick them up," and he nodded in the direction of the frightened captives.

The conversation was conducted on a walkie-talkie. It was nervous and muffled—the unit commander Rudykh, it seemed, was also in a bad mood. He listened inattentively, and Sharayevskiy, in turn, spoke in a confused and indistinct way.

"I do not need prisoners," Rudykh finally said brokenly. Next to him was the unit's chief of staff Mursalov. He could hear very well: "I do not need prisoners." And Rudykh, apparently counting on his moral support, repeated: "I do not need them." And he explained fully: cover your tracks, do everything quietly. They did it. The crushed the car with a BTR [armored fighting vehicle] and buried it as well.

A couple of months later a fragment from a rocket shell struck Sharayevskiy on the head and deprived him of his memory of the immediate and distant past.

Rudykh was sentenced to 6 years in prison—the case was heard in an open court in Tashkent. The decree of amnesty in connection with the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War helped to release Rudykh immediately after he had been sentenced.

Private Shmakov (who carried out Rudykh's order to "do everything quietly") was sentenced to 5 years in a strict regime corrective labor camp. He did not come under the amnesty.

In this connection, his friends, students at the Leningrad Sanitary-Hygienic Medical Institute, submitted a protest: "When making their decision the military tribunal declared Shmakov guilty, but the commander who gave the order was set free. We former soldier-internationalists do not understand what the court was using as guidelines in making this decision. Having been in battle, we are well aware that, according to the regulations, the commander's order is the highest law for the subordinate."

War manifests and strengthens the human essence that is concealed during peacetime. Let us assume this.

Let us assume also that I, too, am unable to understand why the officer Rudykh was not really sentenced. The more so since, as we know, this was not the only deplorable event on his conscience. There were others as well.

Let us return to the letter from the medical students.

It is striking that even today, having escaped from the heat of battle, taking pride in being internationalist soldiers, they do not even try to think about what their comrade did.

The letter completes and crowns the immorality of the tragedy.

But what should this war have done with them so as not to distort and ruin the idea of duty and human feeling, crime and pardon, truth and untruth, and, finally, human civilization! They will be living with this. They will be healing people with this.

I repeat: Society, when undertaking the Afghan action, should have, was obligated to foresee what it would lead to, how it would end, including in the moral sense.

But society did not undertake this.

IV.

The 44-year-old Lieutenant General Gromov sat at a heavy desk lit by the Kabul morning sun and looked at his communications equipment with which he had just spoken to Moscow.

I understand: The commander of the OKSV [Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops] spoke of the tragedy near Qandahar.

"Do you already know?" asked Gromov.

"I know," I nodded. "What next?"

"We are taking measures," said Gromov. "The BShU [ground-support bomber strikes] have not produced anything for us yet. The ghosts are silent."

"Maybe there were no captives?" I asked.

"Maybe," Gromov answered.

He took the phone and contacted the flyers: "Get the helicopters ready. Two waves. Report when they are ready." Glancing at his watch, he added: "at 1120 hours."

The night before in Moscow there was a press conference within the framework of the Soviet-American summit meeting. Speaking at it, M.S. Gorbachev reported, in particular, about this, "...Yesterday in the region of Qandahar," he said, "our comrades died, and several people disappeared without a trace."

"The BShU has done nothing for us," repeated Gromov. "I will send the airborne assault troops."

He got up from his desk: stocky, not very tall, neat, composed. He described the situation. A group of Soviet military servicemen—three lieutenant colonels and two enlisted men, a rifleman and a BTR mechanic-driver—joined the subunits of an Afghan infantry division. The subunit provided security for the departure of the border brigades. Near the village of Dila government troops were fired on with rockets. There was massive shelling. Lieutenant Colonel Bobrik was severely wounded. The shelling was replaced by machine-gun and rifle fire. Ghosts surrounded the convoy and the village. Private Smertenjuk died in battle trying to lift the blockade of the village. Lieutenant Colonel Serikov, who had just given first aid to Bobrik, was also killed. The commander was immediately informed that these two had been killed. The Afghans reported what they had seen: An enlisted man and a lieutenant colonel lay near the BTR. Both were dead. Well, what about the others? After all, they were in the same BTR—the wounded Lieutenant Colonel Bobrik, Lieutenant Colonel Kryuchkov, and also the mechanic-driver Kravtsov. Where were they? Or, rather, where had they disappeared?

Perhaps they all went in different directions.

They could have been captured—then they would have been nearby. A rifle was all that was needed to kill them. As a rule, in these situations they began with the BShU. After the first attacks our radio operators picked something up on the air, from which followed: "We are prepared to return the captives. Just return our fliers."

"In such a case," said Gromov, "this can mean two things: either the price is too high—after all there are three lieutenant colonels—or else all of our comrades are already dead."

"But," he said, "they could also be alive."

Perhaps they are alive and counting the seconds and believe that their fellows will not abandon them; they will come, they will fight off the enemy, and they will return life and property.

Gromov grew up and was educated as a military leader here in Afghanistan. Of course, he had the full course of military science and domestic and peace-time service. But his main school was here—among the battles, among the deaths.

At 1120 hours they reported to him: They were ready.

"Let's go," he said, and added: "Be careful. Send in reports constantly."

The information that reached the OKSV leaders from the Afghans was, to put it mildly, not always reliable. But in such cases there was no other information.

Gromov reflected and analyzed the situation. He drew a picture. The Soviet officers and enlisted men, again he presumed, quite possibly, were all killed at the same time. Two of them lay on the open side of the BTR and so they were seen immediately. They were seen and reported. But the other three, quite possibly, could have been lying behind the BTR. They might not have been seen and could have been counted as prisoners. Or else they disappeared without a trace.

How do you verify it?

There were nothing but Afghans all around. Not a single Soviet. To whom could one give the order: Go up to the BTR, go up to it, the devil take you, closer, and check everything out the right way!

Gromov knew: There was nobody to whom he could give that order.

Many have idealized the soldiers and officers of the Afghan Government troops. But those who have fought next to them, shoulder-to-shoulder, have known for a long time: There are plenty of all kinds of people among the government troops. For every one true patriot there were at least five simpletons. They could see neither the goals nor the meaning of the battles. At their first chance they would flee and become deserters. Sometimes entire regiments, especially lately.

So, as always, one could rely only on one's own.

Two helicopter waves of airborne assault troops approached Qandahar. They had to find the village of Dila, land, and reconnoiter the area. They had to check out the situation and, if possible, remove the living. They had to check out the situation and, if possible, rescue the wounded. And the dead, if possible, they would take with them and return to their friends and relatives.

But it turns out that there was no one to engage in battle. Everything was there, of course. But in any case there was no enemy in the region of the recent battle. And the dead bore witness to their own death: two—Lieutenant Colonel Serikov and Private Smertenjuk, as the Afghans had reported, lay on one side of the BTR, and three—the mechanic-driver Kravtsov and Lieutenant Colonels Bkobrik and Kryuchkov—on the other. As Gromov had presumed, the Afghans had not seen them.

But they had been killed, and even their deaths had been profaned.

Quite in the spirit of the ghosts.

The first mission of the airborne assault troops had been carried out: The people had been found. The second was before them: to return to the base. To return without losses. And to return the dead to their friends and relatives.

Gromov knew very well how the airborne assault troops would return to Kabul. How, knocking the leaves from the tops of the eucalyptus with their hard rubber tires, they would race above the dangerous valleys and maneuver through the labyrinths of ravines.

At the beginning of the war, helicopter pilots flew wherever they wanted to here—at high or low altitudes. But now it had become dangerous to fly at low altitudes: The ghosts had begun to fire from coaxial DShK [Degtkkkyarev-Shpagin Heavy Machine Guns], they were using Oerlikons and—for the time being!—individual Egyptian "Strelas." The boys ascended higher. But the ghosts were not asleep either: Soon they were to receive "Stingers" and "Blowpipes." The "Strelas" even became almost mass weapons. This arsenal fired at helicopters only at a high altitude. Then the boys approached the ground again. But now they could go no lower. They roared upward several meters. Of course there was the danger of being hit by small arms—this had happened repeatedly. Sometimes the choppers returned to the base literally riddled with holes from bursts from automatic weapons. But after all they did return! But when they met up with "Blowpipes" they flew apart into small pieces.

Gromov was well aware of this. And now, sitting in his office, he could very well picture the actions of the helicopter pilots, people without whom the war in Afghanistan would have been simply impossible.

Nonbelievers pray more than believers do: If only one of the choppers does not fly into a tree or cliff! If only one of them does not meet with an accurate sniper's bullet! If only they return safe!

And then to the motherland.

I knew: even if Gromov had guessed that the enlisted men and officers who had gotten into the mess had died, he would have done the same thing, because he had to know all the possibilities; and even if there had been only one chance—he would have had to act in precisely this way, even if these efforts did not lead to anything, which turned out to be the case. Even in this case, Gromov would have remained a human being and not just a military officer. And every helicopter pilot and every airborne troop sent by Gromov to Qandahar would also have remained a human being. Human beings above all. None of them would have anything with which to reproach themselves: Each did everything he could.

And each believed in the last chance.

And each knew that if something similar happened to him, they would come to his rescue, too. Even if there were only one chance.

"They are approaching!" they reported to Gromov.

"They are here."

"They are coming in for a landing."

...The commander evaluates the actions of the soldier in war.

But time evaluates the commander.

This war is ended for us. Its participants have their own, personal evaluations.

Perhaps Gromov, like many other military leaders, has a heavy heart: Somewhere, someone did not fly right, did not fire right, and at some moment, perhaps, did not give as much consideration as he would have liked to. It was all there!

But I am confident that a person with such an immense amount of military and organizational experience as Gromov will not be out of place in any circumstances. The same thing can be said about his closest adviser, the chief of the Political Department of the OKSV, General Aleksandr Zakharov. About Generals Viktor Barynkin, Lev Serebrov, and many others. About Colonels Konstantin Belov, Yuriy Starov, Petr Rudskov, and, again, many, many others.

The same thing, finally, about the majority of "Afghan" officers. About the young lieutenants who are still to become colonels and then even generals. About the young graduates of schools, who in one moment in Afghanistan recognized the difference between what they had learned there and what they discovered in real life.

About the officers who in their first battle recognized how short is the distance between the commander and the soldier and how much human relations and military camaraderie mean. And how at the same time this

distance is so great, because the commander always has the difficult duty of deciding whether to leave a soldier in the covering force or to send him into battle. Sometimes to certain death.

Having become generals, let none of them forget the soldiers who here, on Afghan land, protected them, their still young officers, from bullets and fragments.

And the soldiers—as has been repeatedly proven—do not forget their commanders. Even today, when gathering together, they recall them and they know better than any personnel specialist who was worth what. And they sing their own praises to the best of them.

...Gromov sat at his heavy desk, lit by the evening Kabul sun, and looked at his communications equipment with which he had to report the results of the operation in Moscow. And when he was told that the choppers were on the ground, all of them without any losses, he lifted the receiver and in a measured voice, firmly stated: This is Gromov. [passage omitted]

Citizens, Soldiers View War in Afghanistan LD1602120789

[Editorial Report] Moscow in English to Great Britain and Northern Ireland at 2000 GMT on 15 February carries an 18-minute program presented by Yelena Vyesoleva in connection with the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, noting that Lieutenant General Gromov was the last Soviet soldier to leave Afghanistan following the 9 years of war.

Vyesoleva presents background on the Soviet occupation of the country, noting that: "The decision to introduce Soviet troops into Afghanistan was taken in December 1979 in response to requests from the Afghan Government. Soviet troops were given the task of guarding highways, airfields, and industrial facilities against attacks by antigovernment groups. The decision to introduce troops was not properly founded, however. It has now become apparent that not all of the country's party leadership knew about it. Many political, economic, and geographic specifics of Afghanistan were not taken into account, nor were all of the international implications of the move." Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov is then quoted as saying that military means were overestimated by the Soviet Government in dealing with the situation in Afghanistan. Col-Gen Chervov, in Russian fading into an English translation, then says: "The present Soviet Government has received a bitter legacy. By the year 1985 when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power, the war had been going on for 6 years. Tens of thousands of Soviet servicemen had been killed or injured. Millions of rubles had been spent. The nation's international standing was declining, which manifested itself in various areas—from the imposition of an embargo on trade with

the Soviet Union to the boycott of the Moscow Olympics. Those were the consequences of the ill-conceived decision taken in 1979. Small wonder that Mikhail Gorbachev described Afghanistan as a bleeding wound."

CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev is then quoted at the 27th CPSU Central Committee conference in February of 1986 discussing the withdrawal from Afghanistan as being a top priority of the Soviet Government.

Vyesoleva then says all Soviet papers are carrying reports about the withdrawal of the last Soviet soldier. Moscow Radio reporter Mikhail (?Krechma) then reports on a poll of people in the streets of Moscow to find out what they think of the war in Afghanistan. Marina (?Kremarenko), a store clerk, describes the changes in her boyfriend since he returned from Afghanistan. Marina (?Kolchina), an art student, says she believes people should never be killed on Soviet or foreign soil. Maria (?Chizhova), an elderly woman, says she feels very sorry for those who were killed or crippled but feels it was their duty to help the Afghans. A highway patrolman says he is glad the troops are being withdrawn from Afghanistan. A letter sent to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is then read, describing the life of the parents of a Soviet soldier in Afghanistan.

Vyesoleva then says: "For quite a while Soviet media would say nothing about what was going on in Afghanistan; the number of casualties and even the number of Soviet troops there were not known. Later, newspaper articles appeared about the camaraderie of Soviet troops. A proper evaluation is yet to be made of what took place on the territory of this southern neighbor in the last 9 years and what that war brought this country as thousands of young people, physically and mentally traumatized, return home."

Two war veterans named Vladimir (?Turchin) and Andrey (?Larin), talk about their experiences in the country, noting their reasons for going in the first place, which were voluntary. (?Turchin) notes that many veterans had applied to go back to Afghanistan; (?Larin) had returned to a student construction team in Kabul. Some of the Afghan people were friends of the soldiers, but others were enemies who could not be described as people. The veterans then give graphic descriptions of the way in which the "enemy" treated Soviet soldiers, mutilating and torturing them. This was their way of filling Soviet soldiers with terror. Soviet soldiers would never have dreamed of doing such things themselves, contrary to what those in North America have been told about Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. The Afghan rebels did not treat only Soviet soldiers in this way; they also treated fellow countrymen with views different from their own in this way.

Ales Adamovich, the author of a Soviet documentary on the Afghan war, "Plain", describes the outcome of the war in the film, noting that it must be realized in the

USSR that political situations cannot be dealt with by military means. He believes the soldiers coming back from Afghanistan can have one consolation: They are the soldiers of the last war.

Vyesoleva says no heroic and inspiring songs have been written about this war. Songs written by soldiers are full of pain. The program ends with a song by Aleksandr Rosenbaum.

Comparison of Glukhov Article on Afghan Pullout

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 15 February 1989 carries in its Second Edition on pages 1 and 4 an article by Yuriy Glukhov headlined "Today We Complete the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops From Afghanistan. Summing Up." This item has been compared with the PRAVDA First Edition version of the article published in the 15 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 20-22, revealing the following variation:

page 21, column one, paragraph five, from sentence four, Second Edition reads: ...of military threat. You can say that in the... (omitting sentence)

Vorontsov, Gandhi Discuss Afghanistan's Future
LD1702144189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 February 89 Second Edition p 5

[Text] New Delhi February 16 (TASS)—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, arrived in Delhi on the instruction of the Soviet Government and was received by India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi today.

The Soviet representative also met with India's Minister of External Affairs P.V. Narasimha Rao and had meetings and conversations with other high officials of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs.

During these meetings, much attention was given to the problem of Afghanistan. The Soviet side emphasized that a qualitatively new situation is shaping as regards an Afghan political settlement now that the Soviet troop pullout has been completed. The question is posed unambiguously: Either peace will be restored on Afghan soil, or pointless bloodletting will continue. A comprehensive Afghan settlement can be achieved only through unswerving implementation of the Geneva accords by all the parties, and not only by the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan, through the forming in Afghanistan of a broad-based government with the participation of all the warring sides without any outside interference.

The Indian side expressed complete support for the line and an undelayed end to bloodletting in Afghanistan and solution of internal Afghan problems in a purely political way, without any outside interference.

The sides agreed to take every possible measure to encourage peaceful political negotiations among Afghan political forces, to follow closely the developments in Afghanistan, and to continue the consultations regarding them.

Biryukova Meets Indian Commerce Minister
LD1602223389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 15 February, in its *Vremya* newscast, broadcasts a video report from Delhi by G. Kirichatyy on the visit to India of Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova, candidate Politburo member. Biryukova visits an exhibition of Indian crafts in Delhi and meets with Indian Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh. The video shows Biryukova looking around the craft exhibition.

Moscow Television reports that Indian Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh said trade between the two countries had in 1988 reached a level of more than 50 billion rupees. Biryukova said the success is due to the restructuring in the USSR, including in the field of foreign trade. The video shows Biryukova and delegation speaking with their Indian counterparts.

USSR-India Cultural Pact Anniversary Marked
OW1602080889 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Ivanov commentary]

[Text] The Soviet-Indian Cultural, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation Agreement was signed in New Delhi 29 years ago in February 1960. Station observer Ivanov writes:

The 1960 agreement has become an important milestone on the road toward establishing and developing Soviet-Indian relations. One year prior to signing the agreement, the Bhilai Metallurgical Plant, the first project of Soviet-Indian economic and technical cooperation, turned out the first pig iron from its furnaces. The important lesson from this cooperation eliminated the misgivings of many people in India who were doubtful or who harbored evil intentions, convincing them that the Soviet Union is a reliable and trustworthy partner.

We can imagine how this understanding has promoted the smooth signing of the agreement, which, in addition to the articles, also stipulates joint research in science and technology, inviting visits by scientists and art performers, exchanges of college and postgraduate students, and other measures. This cultural and scientific and technological cooperation agreement was valid for 5 years. It was automatically extended after expiration and will remain in force until either side announces it void. Neither party has made that announcement. The constant development of relations between our two countries resulted in the signing of the Soviet-Indian Treaty

of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation in 1971. It was on the basis of this treaty that Soviet-Indian relations are capable of reaching today's height.

What can we say about the economic, technical, scientific, and technological cooperation between our two countries? Under Soviet assistance, more than 100 industrial and other projects have been established or are being built in the most important sectors in India. Following the Bhilai and Bokharo metallurgical plants, the first-stage project of another large metallurgical plant under construction in Vishakhapatnam will go into operation soon. I would like to mention that the Bhilai and Bokharo metallurgical plants are being modernized and expanded. The two countries have decided on large-scale cooperation projects in fuel, the power industry, and other areas, including space exploration for peaceful purpose.

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has said of Soviet-Indian cooperation: While other countries attempt to make us lose confidence in achieving self-sufficiency, the Soviet Union has helped promote our industrial development and adopted new methods of trading, making the Soviet Union one of our most important trading partners. New phenomena in cultural exchanges and scientific cooperation have brought the peoples of our two countries closer. We are grateful to the Soviet Union, which has remained faithful to its friendship.

The grand artistic festivals marking the 40th anniversary of India's independence, the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet regime may be called the models of Soviet-Indian cultural cooperation. Thousands of Soviet representatives of all nationalities from the various fields of art participated in the Soviet cultural festival in India, and the Soviet people had a rare opportunity to understand Indian culture and art.

Soviet leader Gorbachev called the two artistic festivals effective people-to-people diplomacy for strengthening Soviet-Indian friendship. The Soviet Union and India have set for the whole world an example of peaceful coexistence of two countries with different social and economic systems. Soviet-Indian friendship is good for tens of millions of people, while harming no one. Established by the peoples of the two countries, this relationship demonstrates the results of good intention, mutual respect, and mutual trust.

Incidentally, it was none other than the Soviet and Indian leaders, Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi, who signed in 1986 the principled Declaration on a World Free of Nuclear Weapons and Violence, which has become a declaration of new political thinking and had an important impact on international relations.

Iranian Threats Against Author Rushdie Viewed
*LD1602152189 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT
16 Feb 89*

[Text] London February 16 TASS—The international scandal caused by the release of "The Satanic Verses", a novel by British writer Salman Rushdie, is becoming more and more serious.

Some Muslim countries have accused it of blasphemy against the Prophet Muhammad and banned its publication. As a protest against the impending United States publication of the book Iran announced a day of mourning. Iranian Parliament Speaker 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani said that "The Satanic Verses" is "a carefully thought-out plot against Islam". He called for a special session of the Islamic Conference and common actions of all Muslim countries against the publication of the book.

Thousands of students flooded Tehran streets and held anti-British demonstration in front of the British Embassy on Wednesday. Affairs took a sinister turn after an Iranian religious fund offered rewards of up to three million dollars to the person who obeys the orders of the Iranian spiritual leader Ayatollah Khomeini and kills Rushdie.

The author of the book and his publishers, "Viking Penguin", made a joint statement in which they said that Rushdie had cancelled a promotional tour of the United States because of the death threats. The British writer and his publishers in England and the United States continue to receive telephone calls threatening reprisals. The American FBI said that it is taking these threats very seriously and will hold a special investigation.

According to THE TIMES newspaper, groups of specially trained assassins have already travelled to England to kill Rushdie. The newspaper quoted the former Pakistani minister of information saying that Rushdie's days are numbered. The writer and his family are now in hiding under armed police protection, the REUTER News Agency reported.

The dramatic affair led to clashes near the American Cultural Centre in Islamabad which left six people dead and about 180 wounded on Sunday and continue to flare up. A group of British writers, playwrights and representatives of different publishing houses visited the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's office on Thursday to demand security for the 41-year-old writer who was born in India. They handed in a petition expressing their solidarity with Rushdie and his publishers against "incited acts of state terrorism and campaigns of threats".

According to news agencies, the threats to the author have also aroused indignation in other countries. The Dutch Government published a statement in which it

expressed "consternation" with the "totally unacceptable contravention of international law by Iran" and threatened to cancel Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek's planned official visit to Tehran, the France Press Agency [AFP] reported.

The scandal around "The Satanic Verses" has become a good advertisement for the book. "Viking Penguin" is receiving numerous orders from book sellers and a representative of the publishing house made an official statement that despite all the threats the book will continue to be printed. In Britain 100,000 hardback copies of the book have already been sold.

The book describes the life of a Muslim preacher. Though the name is fictitious, specialists believe it is based on the founder of Islam, the Prophet Muhammad. Protesters argue that their spiritual leader is portrayed as immoral and corrupt.

'Disagreements' Among Iran's Leaders Admitted
*PM1502122189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Correspondent A. Stepanov dispatch: "Assessing the Results of the Decade"]

[Text] Beirut, 14 Feb—Speaking in the city of Qom in the course of celebrations to mark the 10th anniversary of the revolution in Iran, Ayatollah Hoseyn Montazeri expressed a critical opinion of the period and called on responsible people to rectify the "mistakes of the revolution" and begin creating a "truly open society." In a speech carried by IRNA, he said the following, in particular: "We often displayed intransigence and recited slogans that shocked the world so that everyone began to believe that our only task in Iran was killing." H. Montazeri blamed "extremists" for the fact that Iran found itself in international isolation and urged the mass media not to monopolize a single political line. He called on the authorities to ensure the requisite conditions for the return home of approximately 4 million Iranian emigres.

In his speech at a mass rally in Tehran, Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i said Iran is true to revolutionary ideas, and changes in policy do not mean renunciation of the aims of the revolution. Having acknowledged the presence of disagreements within the country's leadership, 'A. Khamene'i pointed out that this is a natural phenomenon that does not affect the country's general political course. He said Iran intends to cooperate with anyone it likes in order to restore its economy, which has been undermined by the war with Iraq.

Mideast Reactions to Shamir Palestine Plan
*PM1502120989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[Correspondent D. Velikiy dispatch under the rubric "Events: Essence and Opinions": "Playing for Time"]

[Text] Cairo—Israeli official circles have recently been intriguing world opinion with hints that they are preparing some plan for resolving the Palestinian problem.

Now Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir has made several statements which the press has described as his long-promised plan.

What do Y. Shamir's proposals amount to? In particular, the Israeli prime minister believes that the Palestinian territories could be given some autonomy and Israeli troops would gradually leave Palestinian cities, concentrate on sparsely populated areas in the occupied territories, and remain there for 5 years. Only after this time, Shamir believes, could there be a final decision on the status of the occupied lands. There is also a possibility of talks with Palestinian representatives, but only those living in the occupied territories. In other words, Y. Shamir is keeping the PLO out of his proposals.

I telephoned the Israeli Foreign Ministry and asked spokesman Doctor A. Liyel [name as transliterated] to clarify the following point:

[Velikiy] Can Y. Shamir's proposals be considered the final option in his plan or will he make any additions to them during his coming visit to Washington?

[Liyel] In all probability, there will be additions. Nor would I call all this a plan. Thus far we have just been putting forward ideas, a range of ideas. They will assume their final form later. For the moment this range of ideas includes proposals to hold talks under the supervision of the United States and the USSR and to hold elections... Shamir will most probably visit Washington in March... [Liyel ends]

What does T. Reshev, an activist from the Israeli public organization "Peace Now" (one of the most representative nonparliamentary organizations in Israel) think about this? I called Jerusalem again.

[Reshev] How can we talk to people in the occupied territories behind the PLO's back? That is not serious. The idea of holding elections on Palestinian land could be reasonable given an Israeli troop cease-fire there. But it cannot and should not be a substitute for talks with the PLO.

[Velikiy] How popular in Israel at the moment, in your view, is the idea of talks with the PLO?

[Reshev] A recent poll showed that 54 percent of Israelis support such talks, although many people make them conditional on certain points being satisfied...

[Velikiy] What do politicians think about it?

[Reshev] According to my information, between 30 and 40 members of the Knesset (the 120-seat parliament) are prepared to support or already support our call to start talks with PLO representatives.

[Velikiy] What are you doing to persuade the government that it needs to take this step?

[Reshev] We're doing everything we can. We're holding demonstrations and rallies. I could mention our patrol on duty virtually around the clock outside the prime minister's residence in Tel Aviv. The patrol slogan is: "Stop Killing, Start Talking!" It has banners showing the number killed and wounded during the intifadah (people's uprising)... [Reshev ends]

What is the opinion of the intifadah participants themselves—the Palestinians living in the occupied territories—about the Y. Shamir plan? I put this question to Yahya Abu Sharif, political observer with the Israeli-published [as published] AL-ITTIHAD newspaper.

[Abu Sharif] In my view, this plan and the previous plan are not official proposals by the Israeli Government, but should rather be seen as collections of people's own ideas. Ideas, incidentally, which are unacceptable to the Palestinians and have been unambiguously rejected by them.

[Velikiy] What, in your view, makes Israeli politicians put such plans forward?

[Abu Sharif] I see it as a way of playing for time and escaping the pressure of world public opinion, which now favors the PLO and the Palestinian state recognized by dozens of countries.

[Velikiy] What is happening in the Palestinian state itself, which Israel continues to occupy?

[Abu Sharif] While we've been talking I've received a report from Gaza that soldiers have killed a 17-year-old youth in a schoolyard at the al-Shati' camp. Yesterday two Palestinians were killed on the West Bank and 11 people were wounded at the Jabalya camp... [Abu Sharif ends]

It clearly remains to be seen how PLO spokesman Ahmad 'Abd al-Rahman views Y. Shamir's ideas, plan, or maneuver.

He told journalists in Tunis that the proposals mean above all that the occupation will continue. "Palestinians are fighting for self-determination, the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops, and an independent state"; there is no alternative to these demands, he stressed. And he concluded: "The intifadah continues, and popular discontent in the occupied territories will continue to grow!"

Ferrous Metallurgy Protocol Signed With Egypt
LD1602224889 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT
16 Feb 89

[Text] Cairo February 16 TASS—The USSR and Egypt signed here on Thursday a protocol on cooperation in ferrous metallurgy. The document capped the talks which were conducted in Cairo by the Soviet delegation

led by S. Kolpakov, Soviet minister of ferrous metallurgy. The Egyptian delegation was led by Muhammad Mahmud 'Abd al-Wahhab, minister of industry.

The two countries' cooperation is of long standing, the Egyptian minister said at the protocol signing ceremony. Egypt's metallurgy began developing in the 50's largely thanks to the USSR's assistance. Major factories and plants in modern industries were built in Egypt with the assistance of Soviet organisations.

The protocol expresses the intention of both sides to boost cooperation in updating technology and equipment, and to develop new forms of mutually beneficial ties.

The document envisages modernisation and expansion of production capacities at the Helwan Metallurgical Works, and of several other important projects of the Egyptian national economy built with the Soviet Union's assistance.

During the visit the Soviet delegation was received by Egyptian President Muhammad Husni Mubarak

CPSU Greets Tunisian Communist Party Chief
PM1702093589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee birthday message to Tunisian Communist leader Harmel]

[Text] To Comrade Mohamed Harmel, secretary general of the Tunisian Communist Party.

Dear Comrade Mohamed Harmel!

The CPSU Central Committee cordially congratulates you on your 60th birthday.

You joined the revolutionary movement in your youth, and you are still giving your all to the working people's cause, to serving the homeland. Tunisian Communists are staunch champions of broad collaboration among all national patriotic and progressive forces. They are struggling to develop and deepen democratization processes in the country, are consistently defending working people's interests, are actively opposed to the threat of nuclear war, and are in favor of general peace and security.

We highly value your efforts to cement fraternal solidarity between the Tunisian Communist Party and the CPSU and friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Tunisian peoples.

We wish you, dear Comrade Mohamed Harmel, good health and success in your onerous activity for peace, democracy, and progress.

CPSU Central Committee.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ethiopian Foreign Minister Begins Visit

Arrives 16 February

LD1602184189 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT
16 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Ethiopian Foreign Minister Berhanu Bayeh arrived in Moscow today in the capacity of representative of Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam.

Talks With Shevardnadze

LD1602184589 Moscow TASS in English 1828 GMT
16 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Ethiopian counterpart, Berhanu Bayeh, in Moscow as representative of Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam, had a discussion here today.

The two ministers discussed key problems related to the world situation in the light of the latest large-scale initiatives advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his address to the United Nations on December 7, 1988.

They exchanged views on the situation in Afghanistan and related issues, and questions of the political settlement of other regional conflicts.

Special attention was given to issues of safeguarding peace and stability in the Horn of Africa. Confidence was expressed that the path towards that goals lies through a broader dialogue among states in the region, stronger confidence on the basis of principles of good-neighbourhood, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's affairs.

In the conversation, marked by the warm atmosphere of comradely mutual understanding and candour, the sides also examined issues of promoting Soviet-Ethiopian relations.

Meets With Gorbachev

LD1702075889 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT
17 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev met Ethiopia's Foreign Minister Berhanu Bayeh, who is also member of the Politburo of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee, in the Kremlin Friday.

Bayeh is staying in the Soviet capital as a representative of Ethiopian President and WPE Secretary General Mengistu Haile Mariam.

RSA Party Leader's Statement 'Inadequate'
MB1702085589 Moscow in English to Southern Africa
1900 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Commentary by Aleksandr Fedorov—read by announcer]

[Text] It is the first official statement by Frederik de Klerk after he replaced Pieter Botha as the party leader. That's why his words were treated with special attention. One can say that the overall reaction of the South African mass media was positive.

First of all, probably it was due to the fact that during the 40-year history of the National Party, its leader has started to speak a human language. His predecessors' statements most of the time began and ended with the same thing. The system of segregation, they said, was a godsend, and it was the duty of the white residents in South Africa to protect it from the communists.

Of the viewpoint of the authorities, the most revolutionary was Pieter Botha's call to adjust or to die. Frederik de Klerk pledged to drastically change South Africa. The journalists were amazed to hear in Parliament from Frederik de Klerk that his goal was to form a new South Africa, dramatically different and liberated from all the antagonisms of the past and from all forms of domination and oppression.

But, in fact, he went no further than that. He didn't specify, either in Parliament or at the news conference, how and when he was going to do this. Maybe he took into account the delicate situation connected with Pieter Botha's illness, and he does not want to speed up events.

However, many newspapers point out that Frederik de Klerk almost certainly coordinated his statement with the president. It is right to expect that a new leader of the National Party coordinated his action with Pieter Botha, who continues to be president, in order to pacify both the African population and the white liberal opposition. They believe promises (?must) check popular action against the policy of apartheid.

Those who took Frederik de Klerk's statement literally should pay attention to his answer to a Western journalist at the news conference. The leader of the National Party gently rejected any possibility of talks with the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa. This in spite of the fact that on many occasions the white opposition spoke about the realism of constitutional proposals by the ANC and continues to establish contact with ANC representatives at various levels.

And the last point: Frederik de Klerk said white self-determination would be guaranteed, and there is no question of introducing the principle of one man, one vote. So, what's new about the statement of the National Party leader? Nothing, except pleasant words delivered with (?pathos). But it is very inadequate in a country where the situation calls for urgent measures.

Destabilization 'Way of Life' for RSA Forces
MB1602160789 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa
1930 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Vladimir Valentinov commentary]

[Text] By once again invading Angola, the Pretoria regime is violating agreements Angola, Cuba, and South Africa signed in New York last year which were meant to resolve the problems of southwestern Africa. Perhaps it was just a fluke that the invasion coincided with the 13th anniversary of the passing of a law on defense and security which provides for South African Defense Force [SADF] deployment to any area of the region that threatens the security of South Africa. This law marked a change in relations between South Africa and independent southern African countries. Acts of destabilization have become a way of life for the SADF.

Since Angola's independence, South Africa has waged an undeclared war. The issue, as has been apparent for some time, is not the threat to South Africa's security, but Pretoria's determination to create strife within south African nations and bully them into politically and economically bowing to the regime's will. But for various reasons, much has changed in southern Africa, and the regime's tendencies toward destabilization have become a good reason to embark on solving many of the problems facing southern Africans nations. South Africa's attitude has earned it more enemies overseas and dissent within the government. Those nations prone to attacks by South Africa have strengthened their defense systems; this culminated in South Africa being forced to sign the New York agreements with Angola and Cuba on a peaceful resolution of problems in the region.

The Pretoria regime's recent activities in the region have cast doubt on its sincerity in resolving the region's problems. Long before South Africa reneged on its promises, Angola had begun fulfilling its part of the New York agreements by allowing Cuban troops to be pulled out of Angola ahead of schedule. The ANC also announced that it would remove its bases from Angola to facilitate the agreements. As is apparent to all, these measures are a show of good faith, but seem not to have made any impression on Pretoria.

Why is this? Could this change in strategy be meant to stall the beginning of the independence process for Namibia, currently set at 1 April in the agreement? Perhaps this change has been facilitated by the change in government hierarchy and the ruling party caused by President P.W. Botha's illness and the shift of power toward the camp that wants to turn the apartheid clock back into the dark ages. All this seems to point to a change in the government's desire for a peaceful resolution of problems. Peace in the region seems once again to have been put on the line.

Renamo Actions, Western Support Viewed
PM1702101589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Feb 89 Second Edition p 7

[L. Kuznetsov article: "Bloody Saga of Terror"]

[Excerpts] The Africans particularly respect and love teachers. They are compared to a sacred tree which brings people happiness. But there are places in Africa where teachers are the object of particular hatred—and cruelty. These are the regions where bands of the so-called "Mozambique National Resistance [MNR]" operate. According to information from U.S. sources, since 1983 terrorists from the MNR have brutally killed 193 school teachers after torturing them and have taken 185 as hostages.

But teachers were not the only victims of the MNR. [passage omitted]

As a result of the MNR bandits' actions, about 3.5 million Mozambicans have lost their homes and become wanderers—hungry, destitute, homeless. About a million people are seeking asylum abroad. Besides this, colossal damage has been inflicted on the Mozambican economy. In Tete Province alone out of 250,000 acres of the most fertile land, about which people say "stick a fork in the ground in the spring and by the fall a fork tree will grow," only 5,000 acres are being cultivated. The MNR is striving precisely for economic disorganization and political destabilization. But why? In whose interests?

Imperialist Western circles want to discredit healthy progressive forces in Africa, to sow distrust in political parties' programs, and to put countries which have chosen the path of independent development under the diktat of monopolies again. The MNR, created by the special services of the West and by South Africa's racist regime in 1970 to strike at national liberation movements and left-wing forces, also serves this "mission." The PROGRESSIVE journal writes that at first the white racists of Rhodesia, as it was then called, headed the terrorists. Now they are commanded from South Africa. In recent years, with generous military, material, and moral support from Pretoria and extreme right-wing U.S. forces, the MNR has gathered strength. Justifying support for the terrorists, Jesse Helms, Republican U.S. senator from North Carolina, put forward the main argument at the hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "The MNR is fighting communism."

The actions of the "Mozambique National Resistance" are also alarming the world community because they testify to a very dangerous and alarming tendency: Today the extreme right is increasingly frequently resorting to a crude, hired force and to the services of punitive expeditions "from among the local population." [passage omitted]

Kosukhin on African Industrial Development
LD1502101889 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa
1800 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] [Announcer] Today we continue our series of talks with African affairs specialist Professor Nikolay Kosukhin. In the last talk, we spoke of the (?ways) the African countries would produce ample food supplies by developing agriculture. Today we will look at the continent's present stage of industrial development, at the results of the industrialization of independent Africa, [words indistinct] the last 2 or 3 decades, and at its future prospects.

[Kosukhin, in Russian fading into Portuguese translation] (?In the past), in our scientific publications we often used the terms: attainment of economic independence and economic autonomy in the context of making the point that you can only attain [word indistinct] independence through industrialization, but now we are forced to recognize that those terms were not correct. In effect, how can you talk of economic independence in this world of interconnected and, therefore, interdependent economies? [passage indistinct]

The resolution of the African countries' economic development problems through industrialization has proved inefficient. There was a failure to take into account the fact that the setting up of large enterprises and of a (?commensurate production system) demands large financial resources which the newly liberated countries lacked. It already has become obvious, however, that it is indispensable first of all to establish a processing industry for their agricultural products. It is through this type of industry that (?efficient) progress can be made in supplying food to the population, which is the No 1 problem for the whole of Africa.

[Announcer] Immediately after the proclamation of independence, the leaderships of many African countries took the course of (?wholesale) nationalization. In most cases this led to a drain of skilled cadres, to direct sabotage by foreign companies, and [passage indistinct]. The missing cadres were not replaced and the result is clear for all to see: A substantial part of the enterprises have been closed down. [Words indistinct] what happened, to a certain extent, was the blind copying of the USSR's industrialization process. What is happening now?

[Kosukhin] [Words indistinct] Now the reverse is happening. Denationalizations are being carried out in practically all African countries, including those which had proclaimed the adoption of the socialist course, while the governments of countries such as Zimbabwe and Zambia are in no hurry to nationalize companies owned by domestic or foreign capital. [passage indistinct]

[Announcer] But is there not a contradiction between the ideological basis of a number of countries, that is to say, scientific socialism, and their economic orientation, or reorientation, with the active participation of private capital?

[Kosukhin] Yes, of course. Formally speaking, such contradictions do arise, as in Zimbabwe, for example, the leadership of which proclaimed the socialist course (?on the basis) of scientific socialism, while at the same time domestic and foreign capital hold key positions in the economy. At the Second Congress of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front, President Robert Mugabe stated that his country would continue to cooperate with the transitional corporations, using this cooperation for the independent development of Zimbabwe. The recent symposium held in Harare on the subject of private enterprise in socialist Zimbabwe was illustrative of this line. However, let us view the question from another angle, that of improving the workers' situation and raising their living standards. It is obvious that the country's leadership realizes that, at the present stage, it would not be possible to substantially improve the workers' living standards without recourse to capitalist firms and to the amassed positive experience of production organization.

We can also see how, in Angola and Mozambique, the respective governments allow and encourage the participation of private capital in the economy within the framework of their economic recovery programs, but under state control.

[Announcer] Are there other examples of the resolution of economic problems on the African Continent?

[Kosukhin] Certainly. Take the Congo, for example. In 1988 it took the course of developing small and medium-sized enterprises by (?new) means. The state is endeavoring to facilitate the revival of the country's economy. Agencies for the development of small and medium-sized enterprises have been created, as well as a fund to guarantee and support them. They operate primarily in the construction, food, and light industry sectors.

The conclusion from what has been said here is that the progressive African regimes currently are endeavoring to overcome the crises in their economies through the greater participation of foreign capital, through the creation of privately owned small and medium-sized enterprises, and through the setting up of an agricultural processing industry. The ultimate goal of all these changes is to provide for the workers' vital needs [words indistinct].

[Announcer] Thus we come to the end of another conversation with scientist Nikolay Kosukhin, specialist in African affairs.

Kosukhin on Differences in Economic Development
LD1102223989 Moscow International Service in French
1900 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Dear listeners, today we are resuming our series: Africa and the New Political Thinking, with Professor Nikolay Kosukhin of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This time he is going to talk to us

about the diversification of paths of development on the African Continent. As we know, this principle is part of the concept of the new political thinking.

[Kosukhin, in Russian fading into French report] First of all I would like to give you some personal impressions, Nikolay Kosukhin said. I have visited a large number of African and Asian countries, from Mongolia to the Congo, passing through Nepal, India, Sri Lanka, Somalia, Angola, and Tanzania. They are all different in their historical, social, and economic parameters. They are also influenced by the different countries that colonized them. Each country I visited is unique, but it is no accident that the phrase Third World has appeared in the press. Different though they are, the states of the Third World have several particular features. What are these common features of all the developing countries?

First of all, they are former colonies or dependent states or territories, Professor Kosukhin says—states whose development now depends to a large extent on the legacy left by the country on which they were dependent, with each of these mother countries having its own particular features that influenced the political and economic development of the independent state. Another characteristic feature of developing countries is that their economies depend essentially on the agricultural sector. The population is essentially made up of peasants and is very heterogeneous—you find collective farmers, private farmers, and farmworkers. For a long time, African observers emphasized the common features of developing countries, and as a result the theory of socialist orientation took very little account of the particular nature of different states, because it only acknowledged the common laws of development. Unfortunately this dogmatic attitude was shared by the majority of African analysts. It is time to abandon this attitude, however, although this cannot be done overnight, Nikolay Kosukhin says. But the countries of the Third World have a very varied experience of development which deserves to be studied closely, and this was pointed out in New York by Mikhail Gorbachev. The existing sociopolitical structures show, on the one hand, the diversity of our world and, on the other hand, the ability of each people to assert its right to choose whatever path of development it wishes. Recognition and respect for this diversity are part of the new political thinking.

What is Africa today from the point of view of this diversity of paths of development? That was what we asked Professor Kosukhin next. We analysts take our inspiration from the theory of scientific socialism. We believe that development in Africa and Asia today follows two major axes—the capitalist axis, and, in prospect, the socialist one. It should be noted that the majority of states are developing in the framework of capitalist relations, Professor Kosukhin continued. I think we must not forget that in those countries capitalism furthers social progress in respect to relations which existed there previously. Formerly we thought that capitalism had exhausted its potential and that it was no

longer able to promote social progress. However, taking into account the African realities, we acknowledge now that national capitalism in African conditions is a progressive phenomenon. That is why today we see certain countries which have chosen socialism permitting the involvement of private capital in national economic development, with benefits from states where capitalist relations are dominant.

The next question we asked Professor Kosukhin was this: The development of states in Africa differs; according to a well-known analyst of African affairs, there are 50 different types of development in Africa. Which option, in your view, is preferable for the African Continent? Which one is the most promising?

Like other Soviet scientists, I prefer countries whose leaders declare their desire to assure a high standard of living for the working people, to give them priority in benefiting from the gains of independence, Nikolay Kosukhin replied. As life itself proves, countries are able to progress both by the capitalist path and by the socialist one. Socialism is currently undergoing renewal in the Soviet Union, and I think that this process must soon give a powerful impetus to the developing countries which have chosen socialism. The processes underway will give Africa a means of taking a new look at its history and its present, and to get to know new social values and ideas which have been borne out of the new political thinking proposed by the Soviet leaders.

East Europe

CSSR Prime Minister Begins Official Visit

Arrives 16 February

LD1602183289 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT
16 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec arrived in Moscow today for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

At the airport he was met by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and other officials.

Adamec Agenda Outlined

LD1602183689 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT
16 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Ladislav Adamec, member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee and chairman of the Czechoslovak Government, arrived in Moscow today on an official friendly visit.

A TASS correspondent learned at the Soviet Foreign Ministry that topical issues of developing Soviet-Czechoslovak relations are to be discussed during the visit.

Special attention will be given to prospects of economic cooperation, perfection of the division of labour, improvement of the technical standards of products, expansion of progressive forms of cooperation, and ecological problems.

The sides will also discuss issues of perfecting contacts between the USSR and Czechoslovakia in the field of science and culture that are characterised by rich experience and long-standing traditions.

The talks will also focus on international problems, questions of Soviet-Czechoslovak interaction in the world arena.

Their joint efforts towards advancing the idea of "common European home" and creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security are a vivid example of this cooperation.

The Soviet Union highly values Czechoslovakia's decision to reduce the Army, arms and organisational structures within the Armed Forces.

Along with similar decisions by other friendly nations, it is a specific contribution to enhancing the security level in Europe, implementing the initiative on establishing zones of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbourly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

Opens Talks With Ryzhkov

LD1702070089 Moscow TASS in English 0651 GMT
17 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—Soviet-Czechoslovak talks started in the Kremlin on Friday. They are being held by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politbureau of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Ladislav Adamec, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and premier of the Czechoslovak Government.

The head of the Czechoslovak Government arrived in the Soviet Union on Thursday for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Meets With Gorbachev

LD1702114189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1000 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, the Supreme Soviet chairman, received Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and prime minister of the federal government, in the Kremlin today.

During friendly, comradely talks they briefed each other on the fulfillment of the conclusions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 17th CPCZ Congress, as well as on the progress of restructuring in the two countries. They also exchanged views on prospects for cooperation in key fields of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations.

People Welcome Visit

*PM1602134389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4*

[Unattributed report: "On the Visit to the Soviet Union by Ladislav Adamec, Member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and President of the CSSR Government"]

[Excerpts] Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the CSSR Government, arrives in Moscow today on an official friendly visit. [passage omitted].

Soviet working people warmly welcome the arrival in our country of L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the CSSR Government, and express the firm conviction that this visit will help further develop and strengthen the friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples in all spheres of our fraternal countries' sociopolitical and socioeconomic life.

CPCZ's Jakes Warns of 'Antisocialist Forces'

*PM1602120389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6*

[TASS report: "Not To Retreat in the Face of Difficulties"]

[Text] Prague, 11 Feb—Restructuring in the CSSR is an indispensable condition for socialist society's further progress and for strengthening socialism's positions and prestige in the world, M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, stated at a meeting with leading mass media workers in Prague on Thursday.

Some people try to claim, he continued, that our restructuring is marking time, that nothing is changing in our country, and that in the context of the reforms being conducted in the USSR, Czechoslovakia is biding time. Our viewpoint is perfectly clear. Aware of our responsibility for socialism's fate in our country and on an international scale, we have set aims which are similar to those of the USSR and other fraternal states. The way to achieve them is in accordance with our specific conditions, utilizing the experience of our friends, above all the CPSU. The progress of restructuring in the USSR and the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference are very significant.

One should not underestimate the complexity of the tasks of restructuring. This is a very difficult and often painful process. After all, fundamentally new views and approaches on key questions need to be asserted. There

are no ready prepared recipes to suit all occurrences in life. Nor should it be forgotten that it is impossible to resolve all problems, many of which have been accumulating for many years, in just one year.

In these conditions the mass media are called upon to become the instrument of restructuring and democratization, to ensure that the public is objectively informed. The competence, persuasiveness, and opportuneness of publicists' articles are of decisive significance. The press, television, and radio must acquaint the working people with restructuring's progress in the USSR and other socialist states, propagandize the Soviet Union's and the entire socialist community's peace-loving initiatives, the CSSR's active participation in establishing the new political thinking, and the CSSR's foreign policy initiatives.

Fulfillment of the tasks put forward by the CPCZ is taking place in a difficult situation whereby, in addition to expanding support for the party plans, domestic and foreign forces are growing more active in their efforts to utilize the processes taking place in the country for their own purposes, to destabilize CSSR society, and ultimately to destroy socialism. A new feature of this was the switch from covert forms of antisocialist activity to attempts at open confrontation, pressure, threats, and psychological terror against those who adhere to socialist positions and openly condemn hostile acts. Nor should one shut one's eyes to the activity of illegal religious bodies and some representatives of the church, or to their attempts to exploit the religious feelings of some believers for antisocialist purposes. Certain former party figures from 1968, who intend to organize a so-called "socialist revival club," have also begun stirring. They are posing as restructuring's forerunners and are striving for political rehabilitation.

The great majority of the Republic's citizens resolutely condemn the actions of antisocialist forces and illegal groups and advocate the maintenance of social order in the country and of conditions for tranquil creative labor in accordance with the line of restructuring and democratization. No one will be able to jolt us from this path, the CSSR leader stressed.

Arrests Made Over CSSR Bomb Threats

*PM1602143589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 3*

[Own correspondent Ye. Nefedov dispatch: "Caught Red-Handed"]

[Text] Prague—The blast that rocked the center of Usti nad Labem (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 10 February) is being directly linked here to a number of recent antisocial demonstrations by forces which would like to destabilize society and create an atmosphere of alarm. In the North Bohemian Kraj anonymous phone callers also threatened to bomb a hospital, stores, and even schools and children's institutions. Public security organs are carrying out detailed searches of all these buildings and are

searching particularly hard for those who made the threats. Some of the provocateurs have been captured recently: They are 42-year-old Frantisek B., 40-year-old Zdenek S., and 16-year-old Vladimir F. They have all been arrested, and the investigation is continuing. On the whole, as was stressed at the recent meeting between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and representatives of Czechoslovak information organs, the state will continue to exercise its right to resolutely combat those who break its laws and regulations and organize antisocial acts aimed at discrediting and undermining the processes of renewal in the country.

Hungary's Grosz Meets With CSSR's Jakes

PM1602135989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Unity of Views"]

[Text] Prague, 15 Feb—CPCZ-MSZMP cooperation is developing in line with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, internationalism, independence, and equality, creating a reliable basis for the further enrichment of CSSR-Hungarian relations. This was stressed in a report on the results of today's 1-day friendly working visit to the CSSR by K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, and his talks with M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The sides advocated effective regular exchange of experience between the two parties on the most important questions of renewing socialist society. They deem it necessary to speed up the restructuring of the CEMA mechanism and structure in order to ensure that socialist countries' multilateral cooperation is an effective means of economic development.

While discussing international problems, a unity of views and stances on the main questions of world politics was expressed. The great significance of the Soviet proposals made in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly session last December and of the socialist countries' unilateral measures to reduce armed forces and arms was underlined. The sides pointed out with satisfaction the progress made in fulfilling the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and stressed the important significance of the agreement being drafted on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms and of the convention on banning and eliminating chemical weapons. An exchange of opinions took place on questions of the contemporary development of the communist and workers movement.

K. Grosz left Prague on the same day. He was seen off at the airport by M. Jakes and other officials.

MSZMP Plenum Submits Draft on Reform

LD1702002189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
2147 GMT 16 Feb 89

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Pavel Kasparov]

[Excerpts] Now here is a report from Hungary. The press there has published a draft resolution of the MSZMP Central Committee on topical questions concerning the

country's political reform. The draft was submitted for nationwide discussion. It says, among other things, that in the future the party will continue to strive to perform a definitive role in society. [passage omitted]

The foundation for this will be the party's political line aimed at democratic development along the path of socialism, a social basis, and historical experience. Glasnost has broadened in the country. Democratization of the system of political institutions has started. Pluralism is developing. However, it has not been possible as yet to form the structure of the institutions of democracy which will reflect the diversity of interests and ensure their representation. It says further in the draft resolution that in the opinion of the MSZMP Central Committee, Hungarian society is not yet ready for a quick introduction of a new political structure based on a multiparty system. In the opinion of the party, a special danger would be the destabilization of this process or loss of control over it, something which would thereby create an atmosphere of anarchy.

A transition to a multiparty system requires a great degree of responsibility, consistency, and thought-out actions. The party is, therefore, ready to hold both bilateral and multilateral talks on new methods of exercising power with all organizations operating in Hungary in the framework of the law, only on one condition: What must remain unalterable are compliance with the provisions of the Constitution, acknowledgement of the socialist path of development, and respect for Hungary's international pledges as a member of the alliance.

Article Notes Problems Facing Polish 'Roundtable'

PM1702113189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent L. Toporkov under the rubric "Events: Essence and Opinions": "Squaring the Circle? Ten Days in Working Groups"]

[Text] The round oak table, now known throughout the world, is unattended for the time being. It is used for plenary sessions and is waiting to be the site of the birth of sensible compromise. Alas, the path to this compromise is a hard one. It is symbolic that the work of the "roundtable" is now taking place in neighboring premises, at square tables with clearly apparent sharp angles. But success does not depend on geometric shape....

What have the first 10 days shown? Above all, I think, that despite the differences it is possible to conduct discussions and even reach understanding and a rapprochement of viewpoints. Whereas not that long ago the opposition called the party and state policy nothing but "monolithic," now, particularly since the important and brave decisions of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, arguments of this kind no longer work. Now all sides at the "roundtable" agree that their main aim is the transition from monocentric forms of rule to a pluralist civil society.

But here, the newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY writes, the question arises: how to ensure that this transition proceeds calmly, without social upheavals, without destabilizing the situation in the country? That is what the "roundtable" participants are considering, dividing into working groups and subgroups and sitting behind closed doors. These are held in a situation in which strikes are erupting here and there in the country as if at someone's order. There is a kind of rivalry to see who will exert the strongest pressure and get the highest wages. Not earn but get. From whom? The state does not set and does not issue wages now. Under the conditions of the economic reform this has become a matter for the enterprise itself. If it flourishes and has the opportunity to pay well, that is what it does. But if not? If there is nowhere to take the money from? Should it slide into debt and go bankrupt? There is one way out: not striking to one's own detriment but working well and earning a good wage. Unfortunately, not everyone understands that.

On Tuesday J. Urban, the Polish Government's press representative, describing what is happening at the "roundtable," was critical of the pressure tactics practiced by opposition figures. They are resurrecting the slogans of 1981 or acting in the same style. They are trying to suggest that only "Solidarity" represents society and its interests and that only the opposition can correctly judge reality. This appraisal is well known: Everything accomplished in the 40 years of people's power is good for nothing.

Here is fresh confirmation of the old thinking and the familiar claims to monopoly. Without waiting for the legalization of "Solidarity," its grassroots functionaries have launched frenzied work on the Gdansk shore to create their own organizations at enterprises. Issuing "Solidarity" membership applications, they are setting a condition: If you want to be with us, end your membership of the PZPR? How does this differ from 1981? And what does all this have in common with pluralism?

TRYBUNA LUDU, in an article about the "roundtable," recently noted the opposition side's extremely arrogant tone. It is preventing the talks' successful development. "Some people forget," the newspaper writes, "that the talks at the 'roundtable,' which has aroused such great hopes, are being held at the party's initiative."

Nonetheless people may ask: Is something hopeful not emerging? PZPR Central Committee Secretary W. Baka, cochairman of the "roundtable" working group for the national economy and social policy, says: "The talks are proceeding with difficulty and so far we cannot speak of progress. We are elucidating many questions for ourselves. I nonetheless believe that all forces want to reach a consensus." The group's other cochairman, Professor W. Trzeciakowski, who represents the opposition, is of the opinion that there is a constant departure from mutual recriminations concerning the past and a search for decisions aimed at the future. This is not coming

easily, the professor notes. He has suggested creating an economic conciliation council to examine a number of complex problems because, it seems to him, the 6 weeks allocated to the "roundtable" are not enough to reach definite conclusions.

Nor does J. Onyszkiewicz, the opposition side's press spokesman, have any optimism. We have rejected the government program for consolidating the national economy as the common basis for the working group, he said at a news conference in Krakow's Saint Teresa Cathedral. Why? You see, it does not provide for a specific mechanism for getting out of the crisis. But, the correspondents asked, does the opposition have an alternative program for normalizing the economy? The reply was more than strange: We are not called on to elaborate programs, Onyszkiewicz said, our business is merely to check them. In other words, you work, and we will leave notes and criticize and reject. A convenient position, there's no denying! Incidentally, it is an old position frequently tested by the opposition.

The political squaring of the circle is not coming easily. Goodwill, a sense of responsibility for their country's present and future, and the desire to discard habits and prejudices are needed for this. Will the historic opportunity that the "roundtable" could become be let to slip by? The very near future will show.

Economic, Political Problems Face Yugoslavia
PM1602143789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Kolosov dispatch under the rubric "Events: Essence and Opinions": "Yugoslavia Ahead of the Plenum"]

[Text] Belgrade—It looks as though there has been no respite between the two plenums of the LCY Central Committee. During these snowless February days newspaper front pages and television screens have been swept with a real blizzard of alarming reports that the economic and political crisis in the country is continuing to deepen.

Let us remind readers that it is a question of economic reform and reforms of the political system and the LCY itself. On none of these issues as yet is there harmony and consensus between the individual republics and provinces. Add to that the exceptionally worrying situation in Kosovo.

The economy is being left to its own devices for the moment: There is no government. "The period between the resignation of the former cabinet and the arrival of the new one," VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes, "has been marked by chaos not only in the market but throughout the country's economy. Many enterprises in the republics and provinces are acting as though they have completely settled accounts with the former government and therefore are trying with all their might to inflate prices

and at the same time increase wages." What is the result of all this? POLITIKA answers that question: "Belgrade stores have just been swept by the second wave of price hikes in February affecting 600 items, including food."

The pace of inflation is accelerating. It is now inconvenient to pay with a 5,000-dinar bill, which bears a picture of Tito and was regarded as the largest possible denomination just a few years ago. In the second half of the year it is proposed to issue a 100,000-dinar bill, so people do not have to carry depreciated bills around in a suitcase. Unlike inflation, the political reform, which envisages expanding the powers of federal organs, is marking time. It is being retarded by the republican and provincial leadership elite, which is reluctant to give up its commanding positions.

Personnel changes in the party were discussed at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum and are to be discussed at the 21st in the next few days. The point, of course, is not the sharp discussions but the extensive replacement of unworthy or compromised party leaders and middle-level apparatus personnel by representatives of the new and usually young generation of functionaries, who regard not personal prosperity and lucrative posts but the people's welfare and their unity within the system of socialist self-management as their goal.

"How are we to begin our own reorganization?" D. Ckrebic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, asks, replying: "It is very hard to embark on a critical review of our own practices, which have led to the bureaucratization of the LCY, and to rise above the alluring position of being the so-called party in power. We have to overcome our own dogmatism, political monopoly, and other weaknesses displayed at every step and meanwhile fight for a new role for the LCY in society, whereby it acts as a party of movement advocating socialism, working class power, new production relations resulting from the development of the social form of ownership as the dominant form, and a better life and bright future for its citizens. Many questions have accumulated, but answers of practical value are missing as yet."

Answers are also missing to the question of how to solve the "Kosovo problem," the acute interethnic conflict in the autonomous province which forms part of the Republic of Serbia. Essentially, the disturbances there have continued unabated since 1981. The party leadership, accused of failing to carry out the LCY's decisions on Kosovo, has been changed several times. What is the crux of the problem? Two million people live in the province, the overwhelming majority of them—around 80 percent—of Albanian nationality. On this basis the slogan, or rather ultimatum, of creating an "ethnically pure Kosovo" has emerged among the nationalistically inclined section of the Albanian population.

This is one of the catalysts of the tension and has the most wide-ranging influence: from demonstrations and rallies to acts of violence and murders, and this is forcing Serbs and Montenegrins to leave the land of their forefathers. Television recently showed a sad picture—just one little girl sitting at a desk in a Kosovo elementary school classroom and diligently reading something out of a primer. The dismayed teacher explained to the television journalist that this girl was the only member of the class of 30 boys and girls left, because the class "was not ethnically pure...." It is no secret, of course, that the activeness of the Albanian nationalists is the main cause of tension in the province. But not the only cause.

There is economic backwardness despite the considerable funds allocated by the federal government for economic development; illiteracy among the population despite the large number of higher educational establishments that have appeared here in recent years; and a high level of unemployment, especially among young people, although there is plenty of work to be done. A paradox? No. It can all be explained. The huge sums of money were spent on administrative construction and unjustified urbanization of the province instead of on creating jobs. The main capital investments were thoughtlessly channeled into heavy industry, while the processing industry and light industry, of which this agricultural province has greater need, were left with a mere pittance. The contingent of students, including outsiders, at higher educational establishments grew at a rapid rate, although it is practically impossible for young specialists to find a job after they graduate. Statistics record around 130,000 unemployed in Kosovo, and approximately 80 percent of them are under 30. Add to this the fact that 1 in 6 residents of the province age 10 or over is illiterate. The province' former leadership also bears a considerable share of the blame for fanning nationalism. After all, it is no joke when slogans appear such as "Give us weapons!" or "Death to Albanians!" Nationalism is dangerous in any form and in any quarter.

How can this blaze be extinguished? Only by common efforts. It is not for nothing that someone's remark that "Yugoslavia is waging not only a struggle for Kosovo, but a struggle for Yugoslavia" now sounds like a proverb.

In an interview with BORBA, DELO, and OSLOBODJENJE Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said that Yugoslavia's disunity on national grounds is paralyzing the country. "As long as the SFRY is a socialist country," he stressed, "people in it cannot be branded Serbs, Croatsians, Slovenes, or any other nationality. Yugoslavia must be socialist and united...."

Unity. That is the key to solving the problems to be discussed by the 21st LCY Central Committee Plenum, which begins 17 February, and the upcoming 14th party congress (probably to be held 15-20 December). There is simply no alternative, Yugoslav Communists believe.

Karpov Receives Bulgarian Envoy 16 Feb
*LD1602204189 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT
16 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov received today Ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Moscow Georgi Pankov at the latter's request. They discussed disarmament questions, above all in connection with the current session of the conference on disarmament in Geneva and in connection with the negotiations on conventional forces and confidence- and security-building measures in Europe to open in Vienna early in March.

SED Delegation Studies Educational Reform
*PM1602122989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties Are Developing"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for CPSU-SED interparty ties, a delegation of SED party workers headed by L. Oppermann, chief of the SED Central Committee Public Education Department, was in the Soviet Union 10-15 February familiarizing itself with the main areas of CPSU organizations' activity to restructure public education in view of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

A.S. Kapto, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, had a conversation with the German comrades in which V.V. Ryabov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, took part.

West Europe

Voronin, French Prime Minister Discuss Ties
*LD1602220989 Moscow TASS in English 2139 GMT
16 Feb 89*

[Text] Paris February 17 TASS—Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, staying here as the head of a Soviet delegation at the 23rd session of the permanent mixed Soviet-French ("grand") commission, was received Thursday by French Prime Minister Michel Rocard.

At the request of the French side, Voronin described in detail the progress on the sweeping economic reform in the USSR, which is called upon to release potentialities of the economic mechanism and each enterprise, its first positive results and emerging difficulties. Rocard pointed to the ambitious nature and bravery of perestroika's aims in the Soviet Union and wished success in its accomplishment.

During the meeting, the sides discussed questions of developing further trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation and summed up the results of the 23rd

session of the "grand" commission. They pointed to the need to improve forms and the mechanism of cooperation, to use better the potential of small and medium enterprises and noted the importance of creating a favourable climate and removing various limitations and obstacles in the way of trade and economic relations.

Soviet-French Cultural Commission Signs Accord
*LD1602223989 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1613 GMT 16 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow, 16 Feb (TASS)—The 17th session of the standing mixed Soviet-French commission for cultural ties took place 13-16 February at the USSR Foreign Ministry. The state of and prospects for relations between the USSR and France in the spheres of culture, science, and education were discussed. Discussion of fundamental questions of cultural cooperation connected with broadening bilateral youth exchanges and the possibility of setting up cultural centers between the USSR and France on a mutual basis, was continued.

A session protocol was signed. It recorded the parties' accord on the development of cultural ties in 1989-90, which provides for their further improvement and development, and some new forms of exchanges.

UK Refuses Visa for Afghan Vice President
*PM1602095189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 11 Feb 89 First Edition p 5*

[TASS report under general heading: "From TASS Teleprinters"]

[Text] The British Foreign Office has refused an entry visa to Afghan Vice President 'Abdul Rahim Hatif. He was invited by the leadership of British television's channel four to take part in the Sunday program "The World This Week."

Greece To Seek WEU Membership; 'Revival' Seen
*PM1602121589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent V. Potapov dispatch: "Remote Aim"]

[Text] Athens, 15 Feb—Greece has confirmed its intention to become a member of the WEU—the military-political organization set up almost 30 years ago.

Official government spokesman S. Kostopoulos explained that Athens sent a memorandum to the WEU last December expounding the country's positions in the sphere of conventional and nuclear arms and stressing its financial contribution to NATO.

Portugal and Turkey have also announced their intention to join the WEU. The main argument put forward is their interest in developing cooperation in the sphere of security with other West European countries.

Many West European commentators, including Greek commentators, believe the revival of the WEU, which is the only legalized military-political organization of West European countries, is designed to step up its independent military role.

FRG Attache on Gorbachev Proposals, Contacts
PM1602134189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 11 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Brigadier General E. Wetter, defense attache at the FRG Embassy in the USSR, by "our correspondent" Captain Second Rank V. Kocherov in Moscow under the rubric "Interview on Topical Theme": "Comparing Positions"; date not given; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Some time after M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations, from whose rostrum the Soviet Union's new peace initiatives were heard, the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office asked Brigadier General E. Wetter to answer a few questions connected with problems of reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe. The defense attache at the FRG Embassy in the Soviet Union agreed. Let us immediately stipulate that in this interview we were not aiming to enter into polemics. The goal of the item is to show the viewpoint of a representative of a NATO country on burning problems of European security. We think the reader will draw his own conclusions as to how objective it is.

[Kocherov] How does the FRG assess the USSR's decision to withdraw armored divisions from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary by 1991 and to disband them as well as airborne assault and a number of other formations and units which, in the opinion of specialists, are equal to the entire Bundeswehr?

[Wetter] A number of official statements in the West have assessed the unilateral reductions announced by the Soviet Union as a positive contribution to reducing the imbalance in the field of conventional arms in Europe. These statements welcome the USSR's readiness to alter the numerical strength and structure of its armed forces, gearing them toward the requirements of defensive military strategy. The announced reductions give grounds for hoping that the Soviet Union, within the framework of the forthcoming talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, is prepared for further asymmetric reductions and that, as a result of these new talks in accordance with the elaborated mandate, it will be possible to establish a stable and secure balance of conventional armed forces at lower levels.

If the announced Soviet Armed Forces reductions are indeed equal to the numerical strength of the Bundeswehr in peacetime, then even after the announced unilateral reductions the superiority in weapons will still be on the side of the Warsaw Pact, in approximately the following ratios: 2.5:1 for tanks, 2.4:1 for artillery pieces, and 1.9:1 for aircraft. These imbalances will require

further asymmetric reductions until a stable correlation of conventional armed forces in Europe is achieved. We hope this step by the Soviet side will bring us closer to this aim.

[Kocherov] The Soviet Union, as is well known, has come out with initiatives for unilaterally reducing its armed forces and conventional arms. Does it not seem to you that peace and the peoples' security would only gain if NATO were to take similar steps?

[Wetter] In the past NATO has frequently reduced its potential unilaterally. In particular, in accordance with its 1979 and 1983 decisions 2,400 nuclear warheads were withdrawn without reciprocity from the other side.

Lasting stability and security in Europe, however, require more than unilateral steps. Monitored treaty settlements are required which take into account the interests of the security of all states involved. The start of the new talks on conventional armed forces in Europe in March this year and the positions of NATO and the Warsaw Pact on conventional arms control, which have been growing closer recently, give grounds for serious hope of achieving monitored accords on the reduction and limitation of conventional armed forces in Europe.

[Kocherov] Nearly 3 years ago the Warsaw Pact countries came out with the proposal for a substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. To this day the NATO countries have given no specific reply to them. Why, do you think?

[Wetter] The statement preceding your question is incorrect. In April 1986 General Secretary Gorbachev stated his readiness to begin talks on conventional armed forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. The Soviet Union thereby moved toward the proposals made by the West, which had for a long time been drawing attention to the need to establish a stable correlation between conventional armed forces as a key problem of European security. Back in May 1986, that is a month after General Secretary Gorbachev's statement, the foreign ministers of the NATO states, in a statement made in Halifax, responded to the Soviet Union's readiness and formed a working group of high-ranking experts to prepare talks.

Since then the members of NATO have set forth their ideas on conventional arms control in a number of statements in December 1986 and in March and December 1988.

We should welcome the fact that the Warsaw Pact states have as a whole accepted this statement positively.

[Kocherov] Given an adequate response from the NATO countries to the Soviet initiatives voiced in the United Nations, the process of reducing military confrontation

in Europe could obviously have the most favorable consequences for ridding the planet of the fear of a new world war. In your view, what is the place of a military diplomat in this process?

[Wetter] The FRG attaches great importance to the consolidation of security through establishing a stable balance of armed forces at a lower level. From the viewpoint of our government, the establishment of stability in the field of conventional arms is an important element in building a lasting European order of peace under which no state should fear the superiority of another state or group of states. Our picture of the future is a continent on which armed forces serve the prevention of war and self-defense and not aggression or political and military intimidation.

As the FRG defense attache, maintaining contacts and giving assessments on the spot, I take an active part in this process.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] After these answers had been given to our correspondent Captain Second Rank V. Kocherov in the FRG Embassy in Moscow, he had a conversation with Brigade General E. Wetter. We publish the main points of this conversation:

[Wetter] First I should like to ask you a question. Why did you decide to interview a defense attache at the FRG Embassy in the USSR?

[Kocherov] Europe is overflowing with weapons. Opposing military-political alliances—the Warsaw Pact and NATO—are situated there. But Europe is also our common home, where we must all learn to live as neighbors. Neighbors can have different views on various issues. For instance, it is hard for us to agree with a number of the assessments you give in your replies. Opposite arguments could be cited. But in any case we are not indifferent to the views of a representative of a NATO country, a representative of the Bundeswehr, regarding the destiny of our common home and the specific measures the socialist countries are taking to build this home. I should like to stress that since we made our request to you, new events have occurred. In particular, the statement of the Warsaw Pact defense ministers "On the Correlation Between the Numerical Strength of the Armed Forces and Arms of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe and Adjacent Waters" has been published. I should like to know how you received it.

[Wetter] The publication of these documents was welcomed in our country. I welcomed them personally too. Now it is essential to analyze them painstakingly, to compare them with our assessments. It is very important for us that in this publication the Warsaw Pact states have confirmed that they have the advantage in tanks, armored personnel carriers, and artillery pieces.

The published data go considerably beyond the subject of the forthcoming talks in Vienna. If I understand it correctly, the statement is not designed to introduce all these data to the talks inasmuch as, I know, the Warsaw Pact intends to submit other data based on criteria agreed between the sides for those categories which are the subject of the forthcoming talks.

[Kocherov] Sober politicians in the West, including your compatriot, Rear Admiral Elmer Shmelling, chief of the Bundeswehr research and study department in the FRG Defense Ministry, believe that the FRG should seek to reduce conventional arms to a level of sufficient defense capability. Do you share this view?

[Wetter] NATO is a strictly defensive alliance. The states which it unites have always given their armed forces a defensive orientation. From this viewpoint it will, of course, be difficult for us to think of a substantial reduction of our own armed forces. But that is the subject of the forthcoming talks in Vienna, where it is planned to eliminate imbalances and to seek opportunities for a joint reduction of armed forces with a view to maintaining their defense capability at the lowest possible level.

[Kocherov] There is an opinion that an employee in the military attache's apparatus is, so to speak, actually an intelligence officer whose mission is to collect information on the state of the armed forces and military-economic potential of the country of residence. From the viewpoint of the leader of a military attache's apparatus, how do you assess the changes taking place in our country?

[Wetter] First about the concept of the "intelligence officer." I know that in your country this sounds almost the same as "spy." I say this only so that there should be no misunderstandings. We have no instructions to gather information by any secret means. We are here to analyze the development of the military and related fields of our country of residence. We receive information about this from open sources, mainly the press, and we systematize it, draw our own conclusions, and convey them to the ambassador and the FRG Defense Ministry.

My work today has not become more complex. But we would like to have more contacts with representatives of your armed forces and to see how they undergo training and take part in exercises, which today is no longer a secret. It must be said that workers in the apparatus of the Soviet military attache in the FRG constantly receive invitations from the most varied organizations, where they deliver reports on Soviet military policy and take part in discussions and can thus set forth Soviet policy in the defense field. Unfortunately, we do not receive similar invitations.

The workers in the apparatus of military attaches can do a lot to improve relations between states through their contacts, and not only with regard to their country of

residence. That is why today, in my view, a basic task is to expand these contacts so that those Soviet people who meet with a general, captain first rank, or colonel of the Bundeswehr can see for themselves that they are not their enemies.

[Kocherov] Thank you for the conversation, which, in my view, does in fact attest that our contacts are expanding and that more opportunities are opening up for setting forth our positions.

Ryzhkov Thanks FRG for Armenia Aid
*LD1602111889 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT
16 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov received the West German ambassador to this country, Andreas Meyer-Landrut, at the latter's request in the Kremlin on Thursday.

The meeting touched on cooperation in dealing with the effects of the Armenian earthquake and the West German Government's willingness to continue providing humanitarian aid.

Ryzhkov expressed profound gratitude to the West German Government and to Chancellor Helmut Kohl and West German nationals who responded, together with the entire world community, to the tragedy by offering prompt assistance.

TASS, DPA Sign Cooperation Agreement
*LD1602191689 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT
16 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—The Soviet news agency TASS and the West German news agency DPA signed an agreement on cooperation in the field of information in Moscow on Thursday [16 February].

It was signed by TASS General Director Leonid Kravchenko and DPA Board Chairman Water Richtberg.

Bessmertnykh Receives Swedish Ambassador
*LD1602140589 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT
16 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, received here this Wednesday the Swedish Ambassador to the Soviet Union Ingemar Anders Thunborg, who conveyed through him a personal verbal message from Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The sides exchanged views on questions of bilateral relations and also on certain international problems of mutual concern.

Brutents Meets Italian Communist Leader
*LD1602205189 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT
16 Feb 89*

[Text] Rome February 16 TASS—General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party Achille Occhetto met here today with Karen Brutents, first deputy chief of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. Some questions of cooperation between the Soviet Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party were discussed during a conversation which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Spain's Anguita on Communists' Unification
*PM1602101989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Interview with Julio Anguita, secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party, by correspondent V. Volkov in Madrid under the rubric "Our Interviews": "On the Platform of Unity"; date not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Madrid, February—The Spanish Communists' unifying congress was held recently in Madrid and involved delegates from the Spanish Communist Party [PCE] and representatives of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain [PCPE] supporting the unification platform. A considerable proportion of former PCPE members, headed by the party's chairman I. Gallego, joined the PCE ranks.

PRAVDA correspondent in Spain V. Volkov asked Julio Anguita, secretary general of the PCE, a number of questions.

[Volkov] What significance does the congress have for Spain's Communists?

[Anguita] This congress is of great significance because it ends a phase of schism. Soviet readers must know, however, that a group of PCPE members is still outside the party although all parliamentarians, many prominent figures in the workers movement, and representatives of local organs of power have returned to our ranks. The organization headed by S. Carrillo is still outside the party although it is insignificant in terms of numbers. Thus, following the present congress, the bulk of Spain's Communists rallied to the PCE and will play an even more marked role within the framework of the "United Left" coalition, whose popularity, according to the polls, is invariably increasing. I would like to point out that we are still prepared to welcome with open arms all Communists who want to join our ranks on the basis of the "Document on Unity" that has been adopted, without convening congresses.

[Volkov] After the general strike of 14 December last year, which literally paralyzed the country, the government has been in no rush to fulfill the conditions submitted by the trade unions. How, in your opinion, can this resistance end?

[Anguita] The prevailing situation in Spain today possibly raises several perplexing questions. How was it that a government that so guarded its prestige and that some people even consider progressive, suddenly found itself faced with such a powerful strike, unprecedented in the country's history? What happened?

The answer is by no means unambiguous. First, Spain is now experiencing a period of rapid economic growth. But the "boom" is based on capital obtained through speculation. The following figure suffices to give an indication of the scale of this "business": One square meter of land suitable for construction on the island of Majorca now costs 1.3 million pesetas. Foreign capital investing the money thinks first of gain rather than the country's true development. Spain has approximately 3 million unemployed. The chances of obtaining permanent employment are diminishing every day, and the size of pensions is lower than the fixed minimum wage. All this entails poverty, crime, and hopelessness.

We are now witnessing a confrontation, not between the government or the ruling Spanish Socialist Workers Party [PSOE] and the trade unions but a struggle between the government and the Trade Union Confederation of Workers Commissions and a struggle against the internal feuds lacerating the PSOE. Yet many members of the other trade union association—the General Union of Working People, which took part in the strike—are members of the PSOE. Thus, one can affirm that the debate initiated at the 29th PSOE Congress which made it possible for the party leadership to remove the word "Marxism" from their program is not over.

The struggle that has unfolded within the PSOE affects the vital interests of all Spaniards, since it is a question of the ruling party. That is why the PCE and the "United Left" coalition should assess the situation soberly and elaborate their approach to resolving urgent socioeconomic problems.

[Volkov] What place did foreign policy problems occupy at the congress?

[Anguita] The "Document on Unity" that we approved carries an in-depth analysis of the international situation. In particular, it expressed a high opinion of the detente in Soviet-U.S. relations that has emerged recently on the USSR's initiative, and of the thaw in the international climate in Europe. Spanish Communists are also delighted by the proposals put forward by Comrade Gorbachev at the United Nations. It is very important that they were voiced from the rostrum of

such an important political forum as the General Assembly. The new Soviet proposals deserve particular attention and approval since they are of a unilateral character. I must also recall the USSR's recent initiative regarding the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation.

At the same time it would, of course, be illusory to believe that the greatest difficulties are behind us. In my opinion, strugglers for peace are still faced with great tasks, since many European countries have not abandoned the doctrine of "nuclear deterrence." That is why the PCE resolutely opposed and opposes Spain's membership in NATO and the WEU and demands the withdrawal of foreign servicemen from our territory. The disarmament problem should not, in my opinion, be the exclusive prerogative of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Everything possible should be done to enhance the role of the European Parliament and socialist countries' leading organs of state power in determining the fate of the continent. One must bear in mind that the military-industrial complex will not sit idle when its fundamental interests affected by the disarmament process are at stake. Let's see how leading NATO figures respond to the Soviet proposals at the United Nations and the Paris Chemical Weapons Conference.

[Volkov] When the USSR put forward the program for creating a nuclear-free world some 3 years ago, many people rushed to describe it as utopian. However, I think one could speak of concrete results today?

[Anguita] In a short time important changes have indeed taken place in the disarmament sphere. Above all these include the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, talks on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, and the debate around the idea of creating an "all-European home." Many factors promoted these changes. You only have to recall the broad antinuclear movement which literally rocked Europe several years ago. Gorbachev's proposals are based on firm ground prepared by public opinion, which has focused its attention on ecology as well as disarmament problems. I am sure the creation of a nuclear-free world on the eve of the 21st century is not only feasible but also necessary. Otherwise we simply won't live to see the beginning of the next century. Recoiling from such a reality, we have to carry out profound ideological explanatory work, raising such problems as the education of the new man and the struggle for his happiness and prosperity.

The attainment of these goals envisages a broad spectrum of cooperation in various spheres, including the economy. The construction of an "all-European home" is not a happy wish made by Gorbachev but an inexorable behest of the times.

[Volkov] Do you believe our process of restructuring will improve the international climate?

[Anguita] I don't want to repeat myself because the "Document on Unity" adopted at the congress gives a high assessment of Soviet restructuring. Objective analysis prompts us to say that the Soviet Union, having submitted a program for economic reform and democratization of internal life, is consistently implementing a policy of peace and cooperation in the international arena. For our part, we are calling for dialogue to be broadened within the framework of the international communist workers movement; we advocate the development of economic, scientific, and cultural ties between Spain and the Soviet Union; and we advocate the strengthening of PCE-CPSU cooperation.

Radio, TV Protocol Signed With Turkey

LD1602043589 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT
15 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 6 TASS—A Soviet-Turkish protocol signed in Moscow today provides for wide exchanges of television and radio shows about life in the two countries and for mutual assistance in covering major news in the USSR and Turkey.

The protocol between the Soviet Gosteleradio agency, which supervises television and radio broadcasting, and the Turkish radio-television corporation was signed by their heads, Aleksandr Aksenov and [name indistinct].

Latin America & Caribbean

Central American Presidents Meet in El Salvador

Issue Joint Statement

LD1502180389 Moscow TASS in English 1136 GMT
15 Feb 89

[Text] Costa del Sol (El Salvador) February 15 TASS—by TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov:

The fourth meeting of the presidents of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala held in Costa del Sol has been concluded with a joint statement on ways of attaining political stability and economic progress in Central America.

Demonstrating a flexible approach and a striving for peace in Nicaragua and in Central America as a whole, Nicaragua side unilaterally undertook the obligation to take a number of steps to broaden democracy in the Republic.

The joint statement says that Nicaragua undertakes to guarantee all parties' broad participation in the election campaign and to hold general elections no later than February 25, 1990. A president, a vice-president, deputies of the National Assembly, local government bodies and Central American parliament will be elected.

All Central American countries have undertaken to elaborate within 90 days a joint plan for demobilisation and voluntary repatriation of the armed Honduras-based anti-Sandinista forces and their distribution in other countries. This should be carried out under the supervision of U.N. specialised agencies.

The presidents decided to hold their next meeting in Honduras with the dates to be agreed upon later.

Speaking at a news conference held after the meeting here, Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega said he was satisfied with the results of the meeting.

'Growing Opportunities' for Peace

PM1602121389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[Pavel Bogomolov "Observer's Opinion" under the general heading: "Step Toward a Settlement"]

[Text] Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega described the results of the 2-day summit meeting between the leaders of the Central American states just ended in El Salvador as a "great political victory." I think it is not only a question of a victory for Nicaragua's peace policy. The results of the dialogue, which took place against all odds, make it possible to draw an even broader conclusion: All the countries in the region have in effect gained from the compromise solutions achieved in El Salvador. The process of a Central American settlement that was delayed for many months after 7 August 1987 finally resumed in a stream of accords.

If the commitments resulting from the El Salvador meeting are implemented—it is the task of specialized UN organizations to offer the maximum assistance in this—it may be possible to talk in earnest about eliminating one of the most dangerous seats of aggression on Honduran territory.

For its part, Nicaragua has had to make concessions to its opponents. Just take the decision of the Sandinist authorities that was announced at the meeting to free prisoners serving sentences in the country for counter-revolutionary activity. By and large, time itself and the dynamics of events in the region will test the effectiveness of the results of the El Salvador meeting.

At present the key question remains unanswered: How far will the new U.S. Administration take into account the current accords reached by the Central American presidents? In the past it was frequently the case that Washington acknowledged their opinion only verbally while in fact increasing its interference in the region, notably its military aid to the Somocistas. However, the participants in the El Salvador meeting once again demanded the cessation of any foreign aid, apart from humanitarian aid, to any irregular armed units operating in Central America.

...The fact that, despite their internal disagreements, the Central Americans themselves are increasingly inclined toward constructive dialogue on a regional basis without outside interference, illustrates the growing opportunities for settling the acute situation in this area of the globe peacefully.

Agreement 'Good Foundation'

LD1702002389 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1105 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 16 February—TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy writes:

"The locality of Costa del Sol in El Salvador, where on 13-14 February a meeting of the presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala took place, has earned the right to enter the chronicles of the region. It may be confidently stated that if all the points of the joint statement adopted at the meeting are fulfilled, it will become a good foundation for establishing a long-awaited peace in Central America and for a transition from hostility and suspicion to trust and cooperation between the peoples living there.

In Soviet diplomatic circles the meeting of the five presidents is seen as yet another step in the implementation of the Guatemala accords, which were supported from the very beginning by the Soviet Union and all who are sincerely interested in establishing peace and stability in Central America. Attention is drawn to the fact that all the participants in the summit talks demonstrated flexibility and a desire for mutually acceptable decisions. But this relates in particular to Nicaragua, which has unilaterally committed itself to a whole series of measures aimed at deepening democracy in the Republic. There is no doubt that the Nicaraguan side will fulfill these obligations in full and in the established time frame. One would hope that other states in the region will make an equal contribution to implementing the accords which have been achieved." [passage omitted]

"It is now very important that the world community render all-round support for the decisions of the Costa del Sol meeting. UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar has called the decisions 'inspiring' and has spoken of his readiness to assist in the fulfillment of a number of aspects of the agreements that have been reached."

Mexico Sees 'Ill Will' in U.S. Envoy Appointment
PM1502144189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[Correspondent V. Listov dispatch: "Mexicans Are Perplexed"]

[Text] Mexico City, February—"A gesture of ill will"—that is how Mexicans regard the appointment of the new U.S. ambassador.

Scarcely had people here learned that U.S. President Bush was appointing a new ambassador to Mexico than the public, political circles, and mass media reacted, and very stormily. Not because Mexicans are unwilling to bid farewell to the current ambassador—Charles Pilliod. It is simply that the name of Washington's future diplomatic representative has bad associations for them—with regard to America's policy in Vietnam and Cambodia, with its undeclared war against Nicaragua, and with the "Iran-contra" scandal....

The future U.S. ambassador to Mexico (the U.S. press is already reporting the appointment as an established fact) is named John Negroponte. He is 49 years old and has been in the diplomatic service since 1960. During the United States' "dirty war" in Vietnam, he headed the political section at the U.S. Embassy in Saigon. After Vietnam he "bided his time" as a political adviser at the U.S. Embassy in Ecuador. Subsequently, he was U.S. consul general in Thessalonica (Greece), and then returned to the State Department, until finally in 1981 then U.S. Secretary of State Haig sent him as ambassador to Honduras on a far from diplomatic mission—to set up an underground center for struggle against Sandinist Nicaragua and to establish a military training complex for Honduran and Salvadoran troops.

That is where Negroponte proved his worth! In his 4 years as ambassador to Honduras, the American did a great deal to turn this country not merely into a base for Nicaraguan contras, but into a military training ground in a very real sense for the Pentagon, into its "bunker" in Central America. Deeply involved in the Reagan administration's military cooperation with the contras, Negroponte behaved impudently in Tegucigalpa and openly interfered in Honduras' internal affairs.

Mexican newspapers are now citing plenty of details about Negroponte's career, which has progressed rapidly but has by no means been irreproachable from a moral viewpoint. They describe him as a "hard-liner" and a "super-hawk." Some newspapers link him with the CIA; others, for instance, EXCELSIOR, believe he is part of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research—according to the newspaper, one of the United States' little known but extremely effective espionage services. Both left-wing and right-wing political parties, with the exception of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party, have evaluated Washington's intention to appoint Negroponte to Mexico as a "gesture of ill will." They have appealed to the government to refuse to accept him, stressing that he was implicated in both Vietnam and Honduras in acts linked with monstrous human rights violations.

The Mexicans translate Negroponte's name as "black bridge." They make no secret of the fact that instead of bridges like this, they expected manifestations of genuine mutual understanding and mutual respect, in actions rather than just words, from the new U.S. Administration.

Party Representatives Attend Moscow Seminar
PM1602084189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Ties Developing"]

[Text] Representatives of 11 socialist and national-democratic parties in Latin America were in Moscow 4-11 February at the invitation of the Institute of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee. The delegations were received in the CPSU Central Committee International Department and the Soviet Committee of Solidarity With the Latin American Peoples.

A seminar took place in the Institute of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee on the theme "A Democratic Alternative in the Latin American Countries: Reality and Prospects." The economic and political situation which has taken shape on the continent and the problems and prospects of the democratic process were discussed. Those who spoke stressed the positive significance of restructuring in the USSR and the establishment of the new political thinking for uniting progressive forces in Latin America, expanding ties between the Latin American countries and the USSR, and building a new international structure. The seminar participants said the contacts which had taken place were a major contribution to developing ties between the CPSU and the Latin American political parties.

Radio Advertises Repairs, Joint Ventures
PA1402171389

[Editorial Report] Moscow in Spanish to Latin America at 0000 GMT on 13 February carries the following announcement during the "Listeners Club" segment:

"Attention private firms, corporations, and associations that require speedy, high-quality repairs of large electrical systems:

"Regardless of the manufacturing date, powerful high-voltage generators, high-voltage direct current installations, transformers, and electrical ovens manufactured by any firm around the world have successfully been repaired and modernized in the Soviet Union over the course of several decades.

"We are asking countries, private firms, corporations, and associations that need high-quality repairs and that are interested in cooperation and in beginning joint ventures, to mail their proposals to this name and address: (Electropromremont), Adiamotornaya Street 6, Moscow, 125438, telex 411137."

Political & Social

More on Gorbachev's 14 Feb Meeting With Workers

Gorbachev Closing Speech Detailed

LD1602102789 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1545 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Closing speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on 14 February at meeting with industrial workers at the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow—recorded; for TASS account of speech in PRAVDA, see the 16 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT pp 43-47]

[Text] Everything that has been said here during this unconstrained and open meeting can, I think, be called a big and important state discussion. This is what we will do. First, this meeting is going to leave its mark on us, and your position—firm and demanding in respect of the leadership. We note how the situation today appears to you and how you evaluate it. That's number one.

Second, I think we will do the following: Many issues were voiced here which deserve to be examined by us. Some have to be examined as political and ideological issues at the Politburo and at the Central Committee. Other issues which arise and require solution by the government will be examined there. And there are many particular issues, only they relate to this or that department or sector, and we will issue instructions to them too.

We will sum up the whole conversation that took place here, and will endeavor to examine all of this. There are questions which require thinking out, comrades. I think that you will not suspect the current leadership of being deaf to needs, difficulties, and problems, to living conditions. Living conditions are not being formed easily in many cities and republics. And they need to be improved, and resolutely improved. If we didn't need to do this, frankly speaking, there would be no need for restructuring either. Life itself led us to restructuring.

So if someone is thinking about standing out, if anyone has got it in his head to stand out, to invent something special to glorify himself—let's put it that way—or to win some kind of cheap popularity, or if someone thinks this is just one more campaign, that it would seem evident that in some way the leadership has changed and now it's starting, the old ones are being criticized, while he wants to foist himself up through attractive ideas and programs of one kind or another. [sentence as heard] Well, as you see, we have proceeded along the following road: We have given a most principled, open, and truthful evaluation of all our past. We ourselves were all there. I, incidentally, when I analyze the past, consider that in the last years in which we all lived—and here the age is approximately about the same with a fluctuation of 10-15 years at a maximum—that was our time, and we answer for it, both for all the good things that were done—and they have always been

done thanks to the people—the people labored and raised the country up—and for all that we permitted to take place or overlooked, and primarily—and you know this was said straight out by us at the January 1986 plenary meeting of the party Central Committee—we bear responsibility for the major mistakes in policies and for the miscalculations in policies that led to deformation of socialism, ending up with big losses, and which seriously affected the destiny of the country and society, the situation and the living conditions of people, and which had a negative affect on this and, putting it bluntly, spoiled a lot on our way. This is not mentioning criminal doings. I simply do not want to touch on that just now, and we have already spoken about it and we will sort out those matters fully. But I want to finish off my thoughts by saying that we have stated all this: that we bear responsibility for it, we accept it, and that the party must take it upon itself and have courage. If it considers itself the ruling party, a party responsible to the people, if it really wants to be the political vanguard, if it is capable of drawing conclusions from the past, then it should have done so. I think that this was the most important thing and the most difficult thing.

We took those steps and moved along that road, along the road of drawing the toughest and most stringent lessons from the past. And not only did we draw the lessons, but why, most of all, did we do it? How were we to go on living? What road were we to take? What? Were we to change the system? Change the system? After all, we had devoted a lot to the cause. When could it be that we went so far as to discuss even this openly; and yet, using the strictest of yardsticks and the strictest of evaluations, we are led to state! Yes. We did not carry out the revolution in vain. Yes, we did not put power into the hands of the people in vain. We appropriated property—everything, so to speak, that belonged to someone—for the people and we did not do all this in vain.

This creates immense preconditions for really moving this society; and so it has begun, despite all the difficulties—that was the way it began under Lenin. And if—we must say bluntly that interest in socialism, faith in socialism, adherence to this system, a refusal to accept private property, and refusal to accept exploitation of man by man—all this has remained and is inherent in all generations. Today, too, there is such an attitude, and not just among the working class—the main thing is that the working class is like that—but also among all working people. If we say who raised what slogan and what this led to—you know it is not they who determine things—neither today or tomorrow. We are simply so strong that we can put up with that, too; although you say that it is time for some people to be told, and in some cases bring the law to bear too. We do have laws, incidentally, under which people ought to answer for incitement, for example interethnic strife and instigation, and for all manner of disorder and so on. We have all been frightened, too. Both us, you understand, and you, and the organs.

And what about us? Will we not be accused of retreating from the policy and course of democratization which we

adopted? But democracy, comrades, goes hand in hand with responsibility, with political culture, with conscientiousness, with honesty, and with a sense of duty. Does it really presume that democracy opens up the road not for people who genuinely care for the country and adhere to our cause of socialism, to our goals, but for those who are petty. That has always been the case. There is always someone you know running around and getting in the way, whining, on the sidelines, you know, and trying, into the bargain, to put a spoke in the wheels, or to drop a rumor, or to raise some kind of apology for an idea or the wrong sort of slogan. I think that at first one even liked it and, I feel, this went for us too.

What will come out of this; what, so to speak, have we here—well, let us wait and see. Now I see that the people have come to see that those onlookers have nothing constructive to offer, only negative ideas and calls to destruction. They have to their name nothing constructive. They cannot say anything more. And if they begin to speak, it transpires that they want to take us back to the place which we were departing from, through a revolution, and through a remodeling of our world. Maybe immense miscalculations were committed in those remodellings. We know about that, too; not that we have been able to avoid them, or the immense losses.

All the same, we have embarked on the road of major development, and now the most important thing for us is to revive Lenin's concept of socialism. And this is totally correct. It was all said then, and the comrades are correct when they give us a reminder, probably, saying perhaps the general secretary and his comrades in the political leadership have forgotten about power to the workers, land for the peasants, and peace for the peoples. It is all simple and clear, and so it all remains. But just see how the processes have been developing. We eliminated private property but we implanted systems of management which increased economic bureaucracy, all kinds of administration, and divorced the worker from the means of production.

Why did we carry out the revolution? So that the worker could be the master, not just according to the Constitution, not just according to some normative, but so he could really govern, and think and be concerned about how to use this effectively. As it turned out, he is divorced from the idea. Through the reform, we are now doing this, we are returning it; through leasing, through subcontracting, through the self-government of collectives, through financial autonomy we are returning the person to the position where he is the master in production.

We have to do just the same for him to be the master on the land. There it is even more intolerable for the peasant, on this land where everything changes from one day to the next, where people have to deal with living organisms, with nature, to be divorced from it, and to become a day-labourer. Can there really be a reliable

harvest on this land, achievements, results? No! We have to return it, and we are. We are going to come to our plenum on agrarian issues with major proposals, comrades, major ones.

Power. It was all there—read our Constitution. It is progressive. It was and is such. The soviets—they are the bodies which the working people themselves gave birth to. That is, we had everything both from the viewpoint of legal, constitutional provisions, and from the viewpoint of organizational forms. But it didn't work. People were divorced, divorced from power. The political process did not go the way it should have. Under socialism, with worker's power, we have in this respect to revive and restore the soviets' real power. But this power—you will recall that I had to say some fundamental things about this topic at the conference we had—because our soviets have been squashed by the executive bodies and the management bodies. The deputies go around trying to persuade and begging for things—help me, give me this. The deputies are elected by the people, it is they who should determine the line, the local or regional policy. And at the top level—the state policy, you understand—it is they who should monitor the work of the executive bodies and how they are carrying out this policy. This has not been working. Now, through the new mechanisms, through the changes to all this, we are doing this work.

The most important thing is that in the economic context as well, the soviets should draw support from the established legal provisions, firm provisions. Everybody on this land should have their say on the local budget and be concerned about the territory, its development, and the people in the town, in the rayon, in the republic, and so on.

That is the way things should be and that is how they will be, comrades. In addition to what we are to discuss about the question of regional financial autonomy—this is close to them, they said—there will also be a law about the local soviet and the local economy. That is, we want effectively to revive the power of the soviets to the full, both at the political level so that the primary decisions should be made here, and at the economic level so that they should have their own strength, so to speak, be underpinned by real resources, and be able to resolve problems of local importance or other—regional or republican importance. From this viewpoint you can see where we are heading. These are our intentions. I want to convince you that everything that we have thought out has the intention of restoring Lenin's plans, to embody them in real processes in the economy, in politics, in democracy, and in the spiritual sphere.

This whole process is not proceeding simply, not at all simply, comrades. For, as I have already said, we are children of our time. If only it was just a question of bureaucrats. If only, comrades. But the bureaucrat relies on the inertness of the labor collectives and the unwillingness to change one's attitude to the matter in hand,

unwillingness to change the forms of work organization, and the forms of life organization. Let everything remain the same. But everything cannot be allowed to remain. You understand, comrades.

I think that today—and this is the next aspect that I want to talk about—I think that today the opinion was firmly, clearly, and precisely heard, as always happens when you meet the workers, that it is impossible for us to let things remain as they were. Everything must be changed if we want to prevent our country from lagging behind and finding itself in the backyard of world development. Everything must be changed. Those who are trying to frighten us with the difficulties, the things that have been thrown up with restructuring, are not the fault of restructuring. Restructuring simply lays bare all the problems which have been accumulated. And we are now able to see them, and we are working out measures and ways to resolve them both today and for tomorrow, laying the foundations for the long term, for the future.

Therefore, I move on to the second part of my conclusion, and I welcome the most important thing that has been heard here, that the workers are in favor of restructuring. Taking account of the fact that the whole country, so to speak, is represented here—this is a sort of piece of sociological research going on in the Central Committee hall—and here, all the comrades said not only that they are in favor of restructuring, but they also expressed dissatisfaction that it is proceeding slowly, that there are shortcomings, that there are still those who are putting spanners in the works, and that the Central Committee and the Government should see this and act resolutely. Have I drawn the correct conclusion? [applause, murmurs of correct, correct]

So that is the most important thing, that you have gingered us up here, as they say. I am grateful to you, you know. It is good; it means you trust us. This is how I perceive it: Why should I waste my intellectual efforts on someone, tell someone how things should be, if I don't trust him? So I perceive this as trust.

You might say: What a crafty fellow—instead of reacting to specific issues and to criticism, he is turning it to his own advantage. No, comrades, I believe we are in the same boat. We all have an interest in this colossal enterprise, our restructuring and succeeding. We are simply destined to have to strive for the success of restructuring, because it is our fate.

Just look what our restructuring is doing for the country. All society has got moving. You would not recognize the people. Whoever of the comrades that comes along who is having meetings in the constituencies at the moment, having conversations and talks - for many Politburo members and other comrades have already been there—well, they say everything has got moving, everything is changing. It seems to me that this—the fact that restructuring is gathering strength, and that the people are

becoming ever more demanding—is good, as well as the fact that the workers are very strongly underpinning their principled positions with their work.

This is no less important, comrades. Both are important. You have to have a firm position and not yield it, because there is a lot that is new. Restructuring is throwing up a lot of all kinds of things, and some might start to panic and to say things like: Run the film backwards. It is not just that we cannot retreat; we cannot even stop. On the contrary, we have to advance even more resolutely.

But it is also important that apart from this position the worker must do much and stick to it at this watershed stage, when we have it all—pluralism of opinions, glasnost, and the old methods, too; the command system is still there; financial autonomy is in progress; we have the old prices and the new prices, and contracts, and the situation in the market, and everything. Nevertheless, people are bearing these very heavy burdens of the transitional stage. This is the most difficult period, when we are interpreting things and already doing a great deal. It is the most difficult thing, and the fact that the working class—I have already spoken of this repeatedly, and it is not just for the sake of saying something pleasant sitting here with you, no, because it really is a decisive force—the fact that the working class is giving such support to restructuring and at the same time making demands and working ever more efficiently and competently day by day, resolving both political and economic tasks, is inspiring for me and for all of us, comrades. We'll cope with it, comrades, we will cope with it, no matter how difficult it may be.

At the moment we are being fed a great deal. We have demagogues inside the country, too, and not only demagogues, and we get it from outside as well. At the moment, if you have a listen, all the radio stations are available, and if you go through the wavebands, some of them are saying: The longest they'll give Gorbachev at the moment is that he'll hold on for a year, no longer. As if that were what it was all about, comrades, as if that were what it was all about. Even now, you understand, they are trying to bring it all down to personalities. No, of course, personalities are of significance, at the enterprise, in the work team, and in the country. But we don't need this. When we speak and criticize our present cadres, we criticize them for what they do. But you know, we need cadres, and what cadres—we should not forget this—the lease-holder, the cooperative member, whoever he may be. Everyone needs them. We need specialists. But we do indeed need a different corps of cadres, one which would understand restructuring, take it to heart and give its knowledge for restructuring. But I'll talk about this just a little later.

So, that is not what it is all about. What it is about is that the country has accepted the policy of restructuring, and that's that. That is the main thing. The people will not now allow someone to cast aside the chance that we have today,

to allow it to go unused, and missed. Nobody could get away with that now. You know, this is all understandable: Since restructuring is putting the squeeze on some people, there is muttering and dissatisfaction.

Comrades, all this will fall into place; it is today that they are dissatisfied from the viewpoint of their present interests. But restructuring is for the whole country, for all people, for every person. It is a necessity, from the viewpoint of the large, long-term interests or whatever issue we look at. Industry will become stronger; the agrarian sector will turn around, so to speak, on the basis of restructuring, in its results; the services sphere will get going and develop; and the sphere of culture and leisure will bring different living conditions for the people. Restructuring will advance on the basis of the thinking in international relations, inviting in all other members of the world community, and peaceful conditions will be strengthened. Again, we need this. Again, this is to our advantage. And all of this is opened up by restructuring.

And now for the issue that has been raised here concerning cadres. Where is it that our restructuring is getting bogged down? Where is it that certain disruptions are occurring? Indeed, the comrades here have again said, as I have repeatedly heard before, that they understand the intentions and welcome the decisions, both the political ones and the specific ones, coming from the center. But somewhere on the way to the labor collective they become transformed, you understand, in such a way that they are frequently drained of their lifeblood. Alternatively, everything remains intact, but it is a case of someone doing it, someone taking the initiative, and we'll wait and see. Very well. One can understand that. When I was in Leningrad, I said that we must give everyone a chance to think over, to weigh things up. I think we have provided such a chance, comrades—4 years.

I think that the fact that today you subjected us to sharp criticism here shows that your patience has reached its limit because we show excess tolerance; this is my understanding. But let us agree on this: that we all show excess tolerance.

Well, OK, take the labor collective: Who is to solve things? The law gives you the right to solve all cadre matters—the law gives you this right! In what forum? The Labor Collective Council; convene it and tackle matters. Incidentally, many are doing this, after all. That is how it is working.

What we need is what we have all set in motion: Economic reform, that's it. Let us go about introducing it and the cadre question will immediately solve itself. You do understand, don't you? What does leasing mean? It means a new deployment of cadres—at the works, within the shops, and on a team level.

Structures exist above enterprises, and it is this that the center ought to bring to its completion and sort out once and for all: Who is in the driving seat? This is something the center bears responsibility for. Comrades, we will bring this process to its completion.

Now, there are cadres on the rayon level, town level, and so forth. For better or worse they hold the reins of power and, as they say, they've done well for themselves. But, after all, we are also carrying out our political reforms, and look and see what cadre corps, deputies' corps are coming into being! That is why our soviets will change. Those who have so far been crafty and who are still being crafty or are sitting tight, you know, all the while, so to speak, blaming difficulties, saying we do not have this, that, or the other—all such people will find the going rough!

This will be sorted out, it will be sorted out indeed. People will be found and put forward—they are already being put forward even before this political reform has run its course. The process of people being put forward has already been set in motion.

Well, someone made a speech and he said: At our enterprise we have good leaders who sought out and found each other. Surely many people could say the same, to the effect that indeed a good corps has been formed during the course of these years.

Well, I think that this will be the case, comrades, both at the level of the town and rayon leadership. Things must be solved in a democratic manner. Comrades, it would seem that the easiest of all things would have been to, as it were, make use of the old methods. The party-vetted list of appointments is a system well tried and tested in our country; some have been removed, others put in their place.

However, what is needed is for restructuring to precisely define who is to be retained and who must be replaced; restructuring must show us men it has already brought into the limelight, men who are capable of tackling and advancing matters; for otherwise...[Gorbachev changes thought]

I am bound to tell you—take agriculture, I remember this well: The composition of those in charge of kolkhoses, sovkhozes, and specialists—almost 68 percent of these people have been replaced during the last 5 years. [barely distinct voice prompts: (?in Voronezh Oblast, in particular)]

[Gorbachev] Not just there, everywhere. And so what of it? Did things improve? Replacement in itself is of no value, comrades. What is needed is a wise replacement; based on the fact that it should be clear how the individual concerned has reacted to restructuring; to what extent he is for it; to what extent he is competent under current conditions to digest the situation, and to transform and give new forms to the organization of

labor and production; what's he like with people; is he disposed to have a dialogue, to have conversations; or is he already a complete man?

All of these processes should be decided within the framework of these democratic processes, both in the economic and political sphere. This is more difficult and takes more time but it is the only way, it is the most reliable way. And do not simply take someone from the nomenklatura. Comrades, I am deeply convinced of this. At the conference someone from my home region criticized me for excessive humanism. He said that this nomenklatura should be given a good shakeup. It was Poshnikov, wasn't it? Do you remember?

[Unidentified voice] Yes, yes.

[Gorbachev] I entered into the discussion and said this, and I still maintain this: Comrades, nothing will change until you yourselves, in the soviets and workers' collectives, decide these questions with the help of the party organizations and with the participation of the trade unions, as laid down in our country, and in a socialist manner. We have had enough of these pigs in a poke which have been brought in everywhere, in rayons, oblasts, etc. Certainly, people from outside will be proposed—this is quite normal; a good man has developed somewhere, an experienced man who can take on more. This should not be rejected. This should be allowed to happen. All the same, people should have the chance to see him and to decide for themselves, choose for themselves, comrades.

However, I can see that the situation at present is this: The reforms are being considerably hindered by opposition from specialists and managers. Why is this? You know, what you have said coincides fully with my analysis. The comrades will confirm that we have had a discussion in the Politburo, saying that today, when specialists in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and in the enterprises in recent years have had pay increases, and what is more they receive an extra 6-12 monthly salaries for plan overfulfilment, reform has already taken place for them and everything is fine.

Listen, there will be a lot of hassle with all this leasing and all this other business, but they will not be getting any big increases. They are already at that level and it is guaranteed; that is, salary is not linked to the results of their work. They have no incentive to go over to a new form of economic management, to seek out scientific and technical solutions, to reach higher levels of labor productivity. This means that the concern that has been shown for the specialists and cadres is resulting in losses. Comrades, let the cadres be paid, let intelligent specialists be paid their worth. Talent and knowledge should be valued. This is the most important thing in any nation. The United States buys up brains from all over the world and spares no money for this.

So, if we in our country do not support talent at all levels, at all levels and in all spheres, we shall simply recreate the situation in which we found ourselves. We need progress. We must give them moral incentives by raising the dignity of the person who really works for the benefit of the people and devotes his strength and knowledge to this, and give them material incentives. By the way, this comes within the framework of the socialist principle—from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.

Well, let them be paid well as long as they get things moving. But at present they are getting paid well without changing anything for the better at all, while continuing to operate in the old way. This means that this system of providing incentives for cadres and specialists has already become obsolete. In other words, it turns out that we need to think together. Stepan Alekseyevich, I asked a question which you, I and Comrade Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, talked about. I asked, and academics are raising the question: How should we regard the wage scale? Is it progressive or not? Some people say now that people are transferring to leasing, people there are getting to grips with the matter, you see, and people there are managing on their own, and deciding, who has what. So what about a wage rate? Let the collective determine it. There's the income, they know the contribution, and the collective deals with things and decides. Isn't that right? It's right, in my view.

There's only one question which we were talking about—socialism. There are some protective functions of that system, as a people's system, that is, there is a kind of state guarantee that the wage rate, despite all situations and upheavals, will nonetheless be obtained. So all of this needs to be thought over carefully. You know that the wage rate must be obtained in our country, it must. It is a base which is as though, well, a social protection of our working man, just like free medicine, free education, and housing. Only here also, in all of these spheres, problems have naturally accumulated. However, these fundamental things will obviously be preserved somehow, but as far as the wage rate of these categories and piecework are concerned, this all needs to be looked at. However, I don't think that we need to resolve all of this now at a single stroke, so to speak. I think that when we have widescale leasing taking place and when we have mastered it, then probably...[Gorbachev changes thought] The lessee, well, we had a speech from a lessee driver—Comrade Sysoyev, it seems—is that right?

[Unidentified voice] Yes.

[Gorbachev] Well, he has been telling us. You see what kind of a wage scale he has. You have a leased car; go ahead and work and go about your business regardless of its condition. I think that all of this requires thinking over, and the main thing is not to be in too great a hurry. I think that we will find the correct way to stimulate our cadres so that they work more energetically and efficiently in carrying out reforms. We are taking it on at the

Central Committee, the Government, with the participation of the trade unions, and of course with the participation of all others. But our views and your views coincide, they coincide. In my view, neither we here at the center nor you, representatives of labor collectives, are against this. Let them earn, let them earn, both the worker and the leader, but let's not have everything preprogrammed for them; rather let it be on the basis of progress. Another thing, comrades: I'm very pleased that you have noticed that we have many conversations. This is natural. We are talking about changing production relations, and in the main they are like ownership relations. In connection with ownership, we must change the situation of a person in this system of production relations and make him, so to speak, the main actor.

But things will always be reliable, even in the long term, if scientific and technological progress proceeds alongside them. Any progressive system will get bogged down unless scientific and technological progress pushes it on and keeps it moving. That, I consider, is where the genius of Skokov and his comrades in science and in his collective lies. They have seen to it that every 4 years they should take up new production lines and technology. Otherwise, things stop—the growth of the enterprise, incomes, everything stops, gets bogged down. You see? In connection with this there is a colossal amount of scientific and technological progress. And Skokov wants, he says, to bring this 4-year period down to 1 year of scientific research and development, and 2-3 years to get serial production going. Then it is very advantageous for the enterprise; then it gains even more in strength. They have done a great deal of work, comrades, and I welcome this, so I gave my support to Skokov at the gorkom conference, although it seems that some people found his speech very boring. And so, scientific and technological progress is a theme which is unjustifiably lacking, it is not prevalent in our press and mass media. We have to talk about this. Thus it is very good that you have raised this issue.

Of course, comrades, our conversation has shown once again that we correctly determined and singled out the vital tasks, the urgent ones, as it were, at the June 1987 plenum. These are housing, food, and goods. We are already working, and will work thoroughly, in order to resolve all this. You are right that the construction program for housing might be jeopardized. Here we have to adopt nonstandardized solutions, new solutions, in particular through local initiatives and through developing the local base. At the moment, everything will get snagged on the issue of building materials and the construction base. That is already clear; it is already the critical point. And you have said—I am talking about Comrade Fomin, director of the Ryazan works—that you have seen for yourself where the oblast or someone is to find this base. We have to think of a way out of the situation. It is only by freeing people, using financial autonomy methods, from basic production—they have been moved to construction sites, using direct labor—that the works will decide its own destiny, so to speak.

That is for a big enterprise; but for the small enterprises: Unite your efforts, put your capital together, and act. Seek all these mutual ties out, seek them out. Then it will be easier for the small capacity enterprises to create a base when they would not be able to create a base individually. Then we will get the whole front into action. That is the only way, comrades. This problem can only be resolved through all the people.

The fact that it is indeed possible has been shown both in Kazakhstan, in Orel Oblast, and in Lipetsk Oblast, too. Solutions are possible, but one must act.

Our consumer market is under immense strain. An enormous quantity of money is floating about in the consumer market. This is the main thing, this breach. I do not want to pose the question in this way: That either we should have a monetary reform so as to devalue the ruble, or else we should indiscriminately raise prices and increase them more and more. No. What is now essential is to increase the output of commodities, both foodstuffs and industrial goods, and especially the provision of services.

There was a lack of attention toward this sphere, despite everything. It is through alcohol, through imports, through coefficients that we endeavored to remove this or that, or through raising fur and gold prices, or prices of this, that, and the other. But all this is not the answer; it's just not it.

We have now embarked on a correct path of establishing a base for commodity output; a large, modern domestic base; of retooling the light industry, along with food and all processing industries; of advancing them, including the agriculture industry, which generates 72 percent of raw materials for commodities; including the sphere of services, in particular—quite simply the sky's your limit here, the opportunities are limitless. It is along these paths that we will search for approaches and tackle things. Already this year we should attain a further increase in commodities, and that is the way we will act.

Comrades, I believe that this is our common duty—the workers do understand this, I think—because there do exist, so to speak, these instances of groups, of egotistical interests. They have appeared and the press, correctly so, began to raise these issues. Everyone is thinking: Well, good job, I have managed to make a fast buck today—and not just once, either; certain groups employed the stratagems whereby some things would be curtailed, whereby they'd get rid of cheap things, even when they are needed. No, comrades, that is a loss. It is, despite everything, a loss, one which will nevertheless rebound on you, in the shops, at the store counters, in service centers, and so forth.

That is why consumer goods and the development of services are a common task of ours. Everyone ought to get down to this. Here is your approach and the working class ought to keep an eye on this, just as it is also the

working class that ought to keep an eye on the issues of distribution. We will bring to completion the matter concerning worker control; we will formulate a document which, as it were, would invest worker control with powers so that this form of control is an effective one. This is because, generally speaking, the rogue element has bred everywhere in our country; we have a surfeit of it. This, too, is an urgent task, and you were right to draw attention to the fact that one must be stricter here. The law must act.

Just a few days ago I had a similar conversation with Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov, and a week ago he was on his way to the administrative bodies to tackle these questions.

It is our demand that the struggle must be stepped up against all the negative and criminal elements, the latter first and foremost, and in various spheres—those who commit crimes against the person, and against private or state property, and those who are simply rogues, who swindle and live at others' expense.

Here, too, the struggle must be waged assertively and resolutely. In general, we will be working on all these vital issues, and working on them thoroughly.

Restructuring began with the posing of questions, the posing of problems, and the exposure of problems. Just see how many issues we have raised here today. But we will probably continue to find out about our society and delve into the roots of the negative phenomena which have given us concern, and which have led to the necessity for such a policy as restructuring to exist. However, comrades, restructuring can only happen and be a success if the posing of problems and the analysis of them is followed by constructive, difficult, high pressure, and lively work, and decisive restructuring. I must repeat what I have already said: There are those, both in collectives and in our press, who have got stuck at the meeting stage—let's make plenty of fuss, brothers!—and they have already made quite a bit of noise. We have already made plenty of slips of our own over the years of restructuring—you have been right to say this. For that reason, now is the time indeed for practical work, and that is where the attention both of labor collectives, of management bodies, of party bodies, and of the mass media will be turned. We will not be fed on sensations, you understand, but on how we refashion today's life. And here, I will tell you, how much interest there can be, and what interesting dramas. But for this too, we must possess competency. So we will be turning [our attention to it]. That remark concerning the press is correct.

I think we must approach it like this, comrades: We must preserve a critical approach to our work, to the past, to our own work, and tackle all the issues openly. That must be preserved, comrades. And I will tell you that is the most important thing. But this discussion is groundless—adherence to the party, to two parties, to three parties—all this is rubbish. If you have three or four

parties, you can maintain such a dictatorship that nobody will squeak or breathe freely. What is important is to have a democratic atmosphere and to have these democratic institutions operating so that the people can really influence the adoption of decisions, keep a check on them, and criticize excesses and deviations when the policy that it has affirmed and endorsed is being implemented. That is what we need, and that means democracy in public life, in the life of the state, and glasnost, that is the main thing. The party will resolutely tread this path and will put all of its authority into supporting this. This does not mean that in the framework of democracy we have to defend our own values and cast aside those who get in the way, or who put a spoke in our wheels.

Well, there are all of these attempts, parties, and so on. Well, let us set up, you know, for a start, one or two parties for each class and each strata, then let us create 120 parties according to nationality. Then let us think up something else, something interethnic. All of these things are being foisted on us by irresponsible people, people who are bankrupt of theories and policies, quite bankrupt.

Our party has great potential, and it has proved that it is that force which...[Gorbachev changes thought] The party is mature, capable of withstanding all of these tests, and of accepting responsibility for everything that has taken place in the country. It has proposed a policy and it will stand up for that policy, and, comrades, we hope with the support of the working class. It is the working class party, it conducts the working class' ideology, and must conduct it. There have been distortions but we are casting them aside. We are proceeding from this and we are counting on this. Today disquiet was expressed on your part—you are worried about the fate of the party, the fate of the country, the fate of socialism. It is your party, it is our party. [applause]

I wish you all success. I wish that you hold firm the position of the working class. Comrades, without that we simply cannot overcome the tasks of restructuring, without the firm and resolute position of the working class. That is the main thing. That is the main thing. No policy is worth anything if it is not supported and implemented. We see and feel that support, and we proceed on the basis of this, even though we are being subjected to very strong pressure from all sides. We shall not retreat from our course. That is the most important thing; you should proceed on this basis. We shall not give in. And today's meeting has inspired us even further. All the best. [applause] [video shows everyone standing; Gorbachev leaves his place and walks down to the audience and addresses his remarks to individuals]

[Gorbachev] We are pondering the situation that has occurred with regard to the elections. That worries us most of all, comrades. You see how the party bodies are being monitored by everyone. So, are they issuing commands or not? They should not issue commands, as you have correctly stated, but they should work openly and honestly. I think that today's conference shows that

among the working class there are thousands of people, not simply dozens, who can today operate at any level and resolve state questions. This worries me. And we have issued advice. I shall tell you—why hide it.

We issued advice to the party committees when we saw the figures. We did not intend to do anything. But when the nominations had been made we saw the figures and saw that there are not many workers. We did not issue any instruction about numbers. Nowhere do we set anyone the task of telling him to get ready to speak, nowhere and to no one. There were no instructions about whom to nominate. We proceeded on the basis that the working class itself is an enormous mass of people. It will put itself forward. The main thing is that this happens through the workers' collectives. And the working class will vote. We considered that the working class would not let itself down.

[Unidentified man] We have not yet got used to this [election] work.

[Gorbachev] [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified man] [passage indistinct]

[Gorbachev] You are exercising your rights.

[Unidentified man] There is another question. The working class—an analysis as to why nevertheless so few workers were nominated. Was an analysis done in the Central Committee as to why? Or another question, when....

[Gorbachev interrupts] In general, if, for example, you leave out from those who have been nominated, those who have withdrawn at workers' constituency meetings, the working class will be left, and then its percentage will rise immediately. For that reason it is necessary to stand up for yourselves at the constituency meeting. We will...[Gorbachev changes thought] Comrades, probably this is all a matter of experience. We are reflecting on this. Frankly speaking, we are all learning. Several party committees, so that they are not accused of again issuing orders, or of intruding on the democratic procedures, or of breaching them, and so forth, are now taking evasive action. After all, they must be told directly, why comrades, why in the Supreme Soviet...[Gorbachev changes thought] What you said was true. Do we have a parliament for idle talking, or what?

[Unidentified male] Of course.

[Gorbachev] It is our people's power. That is so on all levels of soviets. Let's think together. [words indistinct]

Meets, Talks With Industrial Workers

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[Video report of meeting of CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev with industrial workers during a session of the CPSU Central Committee held in Moscow on 14 February—all speakers except presenter recorded]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] On 14 February, a meeting with representatives of the country's working class in various sectors of industry, construction, and transport, was held at the CPSU Central Committee. They arrived in Moscow from all union republics, all regions of our country.

Taking part in the meeting were Comrades Gorbachev, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Talyzin, Yazov and Baklanov. [passage omitted consisting of repeat of Gorbachev's opening address published in the 15 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 39]

The speakers shared their impressions about ways to further step up and intensify the processes of restructuring. [passage omitted: Naumov, a steelworker at Magnitogorsk metallurgical combine, discusses restructuring at his enterprise]

Issues of quality of production were discussed by Aliferenko, wire-drawing operator at Volgograd steel wire and cable works. [passage omitted: Aliferenko on quality]

[Aliferenko] Do you know what is going on? This rise in prices for the products we make at enterprises should not be allowed to become part of our lives today. Because it turns out that when the Law on Enterprises was passed, and they were allowed to create their own economic and political forms, certain factory managers and—let's be blunt: collectives, too, including those from the working class—started creating their own local budget, so to speak, on the sly, and began to do a bit of looking after their own thanks to this. But they forgot about the other side of it, that beyond our own works there live our families and other people who enjoy the benefits of this enterprise at the moment.

[Gorbachev] Aleksey Yevdokimovich, what changes have there been in food supplies in Volgograd?

[Aliferenko] Well, Mikhail Sergeyevich, I can tell you about the current situation.

[Gorbachev] Yes.

[Aliferenko] From 1 February, the decision of the oblast party committee and the oblast soviet executive committee was adopted—namely, that one kilogram of sausage be issued to every inhabitant of the towns of Volgograd and Volzhskiy.

[Gorbachev] If one is talking of the food shops what do they have? Can one buy vegetables, milk, meat, cooperative produce?

[Aliferenko] In the food shop, Mikhail Sergeyevich, besides the ration system, one can purchase chicken. Since the new year there has been meat. There has been some beef. There is no problem with dairy produce.

[Gorbachev] What about vegetables?

[Aliferenko] There is a slight problem with vegetables.

[Gorbachev] What is the trend? Is it moving toward an improvement of the situation?

[Aliferenko] Over the period that has elapsed, you know, I would say that the movement has been toward an improvement.

[Gorbachev] How is cooperative trade?

[Aliferenko] In cooperative trade there are sausage products. Meat is rarer.

[Gorbachev] Okay then. Thank you

[Presenter] In the view of Shironovich, an instrument fitter at the Minsk Tractor Works Association, the main thing at present is the issue of what needs to be done to ensure that restructuring is not slowed down.

[Shironovich] The works went over to the first model of financial autonomy from the beginning of January 1987. What then is preventing us from functioning in the right way? Well, let me cite one example. We raised the rates of pay and officials' salaries and began to pay for night shifts and for the work done.

[Gorbachev] You have earned all this yourselves, have you not?

[Shironovich] Yes, and listen, if only everything were smooth. In this case the growth in our labor productivity was exceeded by the growth in pay. The works ran into an emergency. The bank laid its paw on our dividends, our profit. What was to be done in this case? At a labor collective council we passed a decision to raise the volume to R13 million, indeed, in order to get out of this dead-end situation. So what is the outcome? There is no material provision for this business. There is none. After all, we wish to manufacture more but we are not provided with raw material. Therefore, we have a proposal, that the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply should give a most favored product status to goods which will be produced above plan and which enjoy great demand.

The second issue is this: The question might be asked why we do not change over to the second model.

[Gorbachev] Yes.

[Shironovich] Well, why?

[Gorbachev] I, too, wanted to ask this question.

[Shironovich] You see.

[Gorbachev] Here is the Minsk tractor works, and it is failing to change over to the second model?

[Shironovich] Well, why? We did some counting. We are planning to do it in 1990. But there is something else that prevents us. Material spending comes out of incomes right away. This is the first thing. And quite a large chunk is taken away from the works' income. Some works begin to raise prices. I will give some examples. The Odessa radial drill machine tools works—we have decided to change the depth—has asked for R1.8 million for a new production line. In reality, the true price would be R800,000. So, the machine tools.... [changes thought] I will give you an exact figure now.

[Gorbachev] You are raising such a topical issue....

[Shironovich, interrupting] Well, I will name....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] ...that, having opened my papers, I can see right away that last year the average price of a metal cutting machine tool proved to be R1,800 higher than the one adopted when the contract was concluded. As a result the Ministry of Machine Tool Industry gained an additional sum of R180 million while it failed to give its consumers 12,000 machine tools and more than 4,000 forge and pressing machines.

This is the most obvious, openly selfish position, of using one's monopoly right, one's monopoly situation.

[Shironovich] This is robbery, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Gorbachev] Why do you.... [changes thought] I wish, nevertheless, to torment you, Anatoliy Semenovich, with one question. It is a big question, the main one. You represent here the industry of our country, the workers of the very front line, so to speak, as they say; from the trench, to use military language. You are the front line of restructuring. We have had many cases in which enterprises were going completely down the drain, and they were declared bankrupt. Their collectives took them on lease and the enterprises which were making losses overcame the lagging behind and yielded 500,000 profit in 6 months of being leased. I have the figures right here.

[Shironovich] This is all absolutely correct.

[Gorbachev] Well, perhaps, you should take it upon yourselves to look at what they did. The number of those employed at their enterprises fell immediately. And they have given an opportunity to other sectors to be opened and appropriately staffed. They got their machine tools

to work four shifts because all the experts who were released from departments, the foremen, and so on, and technologists—all have gone to work in the workshops.

They covered four shifts. They got working, and increased output considerably. Wages rose by about 16 percent, but considerably less than labor productivity; productivity rose even higher. Why didn't this happen at the Minsk works, the most cultured of works, one which possesses immense potential? In this instance I'm not talking only about funds and so on, but primarily competence, intellectual potential, science, design bureaus and engineers. Why don't you think it out? After all, there's room to reduce expenditure, and then gross income—and I am not even talking about lease contracting here, although the Sumi works, for example, is even preparing to go over to lease contracting; this one is a pioneer in the transition to reform. You are not even adopting the second form of financial autonomy which is closer to lease contracting.

[Shironovich] Mikhail Sergeyevich, it's not quite like that. The point is we have 1,300 teams working to collective contract. So, we have already switched four workshops over to a kind of lease contracting. These are the workshops where there are bottlenecks.

[Gorbachev] Bottlenecks?

[Shironovich] Yes. Do you see?

[Gorbachev] Well, and how are they getting on?

[Shironovich] You know what? The results are promising. First of all, people are released for other work, and wages are thereby increased.

[Gorbachev] And productivity?

[Shironovich] Productivity is increasing.

[Gorbachev] And is this is not due to reducing the volume?

[Shironovich] Well, with round about, say, 1,000 people—and here we are merely making the first timid steps—but in some sectors between 20-25 people are being released. All the same, 25 pay packets are...[Shironovich thought] but that is not everything. We are preparing to put special works machinery on a fully lease contract basis. There are many issues relating to machinery.

[Gorbachev] And so you ask: Where are we to get construction workers? Where are we to get equipment? If you start such systems at the main production site, you will find out that you need one-third fewer workers and two, three, or five times fewer specialists who are managing affairs today.

[Shironovich] We need a construction base.

[Gorbachev] But then you will set up additional production processes at your work place to produce equipment for yourselves, and you can create an immense construction workshop which will resolve your tasks on the basis of the direct labor method. After all, you can go and create a cooperative at the works which will make your minitractors or other kinds of tractors or other devices, and that, too, would help toward the end product. After all, these are the selfsame people. I am not saying that we must cast people aside, thinking nothing of their destiny, about work, about wages, or about their families. No way. No, that is not socialism. I am simply suggesting what you could set up with those people to increase your output and productivity in the main production process.

[Shironovich] Mikhail Sergeyevich, we are thinking about it and we already have a study under way.

[Gorbachev] The power is in your hands.

[Shironovich, laughing] We are doing all that and even more. We have set up a sort of think-tank at the soviet.

[Gorbachev] Good, brains are needed now.

[Shironovich] Yes. So who have we included? Technical workers, inventors, developers, and operators.

[Gorbachev] Good.

[Shironovich] You see? And a few more points. Well, in brief. I, as a worker, a family man, am nevertheless disturbed that the prices of foodstuffs, and, well, industrial goods too, are increasing. After all, whatever goods you buy....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] What's that? What do you mean the price of food is growing? Well, yes, for the cooperatives it is. But we have not been changing state food prices at all. The issue of prices is important. It is as follows: We must, of course, now do a lot to advance technological progress, raise labor productivity, reduce costs, to innovate—and through new ways of running the rural economy, get rid of the enormous expenditures which currently exist.

This will apparently have an affect on the economy of the sovkhoses and kolkhoses. After this it will be necessary to sort out prices. But afterwards, when we arrive at some proposals and ideas, this question of prices for foodstuffs and for industrial goods—but primarily for foodstuffs—will not be tackled without nationwide discussion. If the people do not accept it, we shall not accept it. We shall then say there is this version and that version.

[Shironovich] And cooperatives again, Mikhail Sergeyevich. I arrived in Moscow, opened MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and read this article—I would not say that a trial should be staged over the three million rubles, but the total paid out by the giant tractor works in a month

is approximately equal to the wages earned by two cooperative members and their accountant. Where are we going? This is hitting at social justice. There is immense indignation among people. Urgent steps must be adopted. I am in favor of the cooperative worker who raises a bullock, perhaps, who produces something, you understand....

[Gorbachev, interrupting]...offers services, repairs things....

[Shironovich]...provides services, [words indistinct due to Gorbachev's interruption] repairs the television. These cooperatives are needed, we support them, because things really are bad for us here. But when someone buys something in some shop, and then [words indistinct] these people were earning, this is no good. That is, things must be put into order, this surface scum must be washed off the healthy body of the cooperatives, washed off.

[Ryzhkov] But why did you not support the law on a progressive tax in the summer? You know that the law was blocked in the summer.

[Gorbachev] But he is not a deputy of the Supreme Soviet. [laughing]

[Ryzhkov] But he should have said.

[Shironovich] I am not a member of the Supreme Soviet. But if it had been in Belorussia, we would have supported it.

[Gorbachev] Of course, comrades, there is no doubt that we need cooperatives. Moreover, I think that, in principle, these cooperatives should be strongly promoted in the countryside, in the services sphere, and in all spheres. Cooperatives are extremely necessary, vitally important. But at one time we buried the cooperatives and squandered all the experience we had gained. So we do not have any experience on how to regulate the activity of the cooperatives or on how to arrange mutual relations with them. And the first things that we did, right at the start, to provide incentives, amounted to simply monetary measures—taxes, tax assessments—in order to spread cooperatives far and wide, so to say. In general, many of them are working well and conscientiously, doing their job and helping society. But quite a large number of cooperatives have appeared which have been taking advantage of this initial stage, of the lack of regulation over many questions, and which are simply acting aggressively, let me tell you. And I think that we must act in the manner you described. We are all in favor of cooperatives but there must be good order.

[Shironovich] Mikhail Sergeyevich, here is another question about the press. The question is this: The workers are getting the impression that they want to drown restructuring in words. But, how a good collective is working, how it strives to achieve something, to achieve something good, is being given very little coverage.

[Gorbachev] How restructuring is proceeding. That is truly a real drama. It is much more important.

[Shironovich] And that is that. Well, what about covering the progress of the 5-year plan fulfillment? Perhaps there are negative aspects, but people should be told the truth. There should be coverage of one place that might not have done enough work, or somewhere where a bit of pressure should be applied. You understand there is very little of this in the press. It should not be so. Here, too, we must see to it that the press is a propagandist for restructuring, beating the enemies of restructuring to death. But what we get is that they publish, and they say what measures have been adopted. And so we wait, not knowing. That is, the press must approach this issue with a great deal of attention.

[Gorbachev] In short, they must not replace one untruth with another, one half-truth with another half-truth. The floor is given to Vladimir Stepanovich Chicherov, leader of a team of metal workers and fitters at the Leningradskiy Metallicheskiy Zavod production association. [passage omitted: Chicherov says that in his workshop, wages depend on the quality of work, and this has had a great effect; however, this is not the case throughout the works]

[Gorbachev] Vladimir Stepanovich, have I understood you to say that it is not enough for the works, as a whole, to go over to financial autonomy and self-financing, that the reform will not make real progress if there is no financial autonomy within the works itself, that there should be workers' financial autonomy at every work bench?

[Chicherov] Yes, inside the works, and it is necessary, necessary for the workers themselves....

[Gorbachev] That's it.

[Chicherov]...to understand what exactly it is all about.

[Presenter] Zatvornitskiy, leader at an integrated team of Mosstroy Trust No 1, spoke about the problems of construction.

[Zatvornitskiy] We have had many initiatives. The first one was an integrated team, the first in the country. It made a big impression, and now everyone is working like that. The second one, I think, was lease-contracting, the first example of lease-contracting in housing construction in the city of Moscow.

[Gorbachev] Vladimir Andreyevich, how long have you been...?

[Zatvornitskiy] Since 1 September.

[Gorbachev] 1 September?

[Zatvornitskiy] This year.

[Gorbachev] Last year.

[Zatvornitskiy] Yes, last year, sorry. Up to then we worked according to the team contract, and then passed over to the collective contract. And I, and people in general, not just me, had a look. Under the team contract it was still a bit fairer. Whatever you earned you could take. We also received bonuses for handing over a building, for saving materials, and for beating the construction deadline. But when we went over to the collective contract, the financial autonomy one, we got an injustice. We would gather at the end of the month at the council of the work collective and would decide the question. We would have one team which earned 30 kopecks an hour, another which earned, say, 70 kopecks an hour, the team of Zatvornitskiy R1.50 an hour. And, well, let's say there was 18 percent for the whole directorate, plus 4 percent of it for the office workers. The council starts to divide it up. We divide everything up equally, it would seem, and the same for us. This happened once, twice. We did not like this. I decided to seek other ways. Well, of course, the leaders helped from the Central Committee....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Now this is the worst form of levelling. The thing that causes all initiative from the working person to perish at the very roots.

[Zatvornitskiy] There was no point in working.

[Gorbachev] Quite so. After all, here people are working in different ways, making different inputs, and have nonidentical, different ability. And, at the end of it all, they were all evened out. And that can be called social justice?

[Zatvornitskiy] And then the cooperatives got going. We decided to have a look at what that was. And, all the same, we decided to change over to lease-contracting. Our wages grew, our outlook grew, and our sense of responsibility was heightened. We received R100,000, I mean R104,000, in profit. How did we distribute it? Well, we left some money for social and cultural purposes, some for new equipment, we paid R20,000 to the state out of net profit, and we paid social insurance, so that it was possible to get discount holidays, to pay for holidays for sick people, to purchase apartments. Well, that is not just yet, but in a year's time we have a right to buy 2-3 apartments for the team. And may our construction workers live and prosper! That is, I will say, a most advantageous form—the second model, lease-contracting—and it can never be compared with cooperatives or with the team contract or collective contract methods.

What else did I want to say about what is not good in this lease-contracting method? We send R1,000 per month to the higher-ranking organization. And R2,000 goes every month on the wages of the teams. So we are working at a ratio of 1 to 2. Do you see that if one adds a little, then it will be 2 to 2? And then, just look, it will be here and

there. We have to somehow get to the bottom of this. We were waiting for the committee to come and for there to be less organization, for the construction directorates to be cut, with trusts being left, the trusts being amalgamated, and the teams being amalgamated in order to go over to lease-contracting. But that has not been achieved. The committee came, and the committee has remained and has begun to get larger and sprawl.

[Gorbachev] Nikolay Ivanovich is whispering to me: I have only now come to realize exactly what the Moscow Construction Committee is. A piece of paper arrived at the Council of Ministers: They are asking to be given 23 cars. [laughter]

[Presenter] Grinchenko, a fitter at the Kharkov Engine-Building Works production association, dwelled on the question of the small percentage of profit given to the enterprise, as a result of which it is impossible to implement many of the social programs outlined for the development of the works collective. He likewise proposed that the ministries should plan a state order for giving help as patrons to the countryside, to the extent of 1-3 percent of the overall volume of production.

Ashmunas, team-leader of the shipbuilders of the Baltija Shipbuilding Works in Klaipeda, took the rostrum.

[Ashmunas] You know that the political situation in our republic is very difficult. The election campaign is underway. And I, as a member, a people's deputy member [as heard], feel that very much. Very many questions are being asked, various questions which have a political and economic character and which refer to the democratization of our society. Voices are heard demanding that the Lithuanian SSR leave the USSR. What are Communists and the Lithuanian Central Committee doing about this matter, about this question? The Communists and workers never raise this question. This question is being raised by public organizations which are being created and which call themselves by different names. This question is being raised by part of the intelligentsia. So I want to say to you openly and honestly that at the current time, especially in the election campaign, it is very difficult for Communists to work. When the democratization of society began—the 19th all-union party conference proclaimed this—the Academy of Sciences in the Republic set about establishing a new constitution of the Lithuanian SSR. Then the public organization also got involved, and our government and the Community Party got involved, and in February, this month, we are publishing that constitution for comprehensive discussion by the people.

[Gorbachev] You know what? You mentioned the constitution, to which you wish to make changes. But, as you said, the people favor staying in the Soviet Union.

[Ashmunas] Yes, that is so.

[Gorbachev] Indeed, and I welcome that because those who advance those slogans of a different order are people who, you know, are probably.... When I look at them, I have some kind of insight as to what kind of people they are; as a rule, they are very ambitious people who often have not made it in any political career, and then these are simply outright anti-Soviets. And they do not even find socialism acceptable.

This means that to expect that they will defend our values—yours and mine, the workers' and peasants', the values of those who are loyal to this country, to this structure, and who are thinking of how to make it better and how to return things to people, so that things are really good for all people, so to speak—they are least of all concerned about this. These ambitions are worrying. And we must not be afraid of this, we must not. We shall not, we shall be calm. We must rebuff them. They have lost their way somewhat. They lost their way somewhat at the first stage, you know, but they are heroes, because it is our restructuring which provides the opportunity to hear this too. So the main hero is restructuring; but it must also decide and help us to sort out and decide questions. So here you have the constitution: What is your constitution, what is the constitution of the Ukraine, or of the Tajik, and so on? They must be harmonized in this Union and in the Union Constitution altogether. And we have only made the first changes in the Union Constitution, which have provided the opportunity to hold elections and the new electoral law. But all the rest is still to come. We have not yet looked at the status of the republics. That is the second stage of the reform.

The status of the autonomous formations must be reviewed and decided, as well as the national okrugs. These are different questions, because everything will be changed very greatly. How can you tear things out? You know that Lenin liked repeating: Don't get involved in individual questions until you have sorted out the general ones. Otherwise you'll be racking your brains all the time over deciding these individual questions, although you have not sorted out the general questions.

We must sort things out together. We are now going to. We have asked the opinions of every republic, every Central Committee, scientists, the public, for proposals for our plenum on relations between nationalities. We said that our main principle is this: A strong center and strong republics. Once we start tackling it fundamentally, we will try to answer all the questions, to answer them all—both the status of the republics, financial autonomy, language, culture and all the rest—so that everyone can live happily in the country. Unless we solve this, restructuring will not be real, because the people must feel that with restructuring everything changes.

Whatever happens in your republics—you should tell this to your comrades—we in the Central Committee, in the Government, and in the presidium are deaf [as heard] to the fact that there are questions and problems

which are overdue for solving. No, no, they will all be solved, but as a matter of principle, properly, in harmony with the interests of all the peoples of the republics. Don't worry. Well, to put it briefly, be concerned, in the good sense of being concerned, but not so that you get the opinion that we are deaf to you. No way. Well, I beg your pardon. [Ashmunas attempting to say something] You have raised here a vital and live theme, you know.

[Ashmunas] Indeed, and today, as far as territorial financial autonomy is concerned in the republic, the 4th year of restructuring is under way; the 4th year of restructuring is under way. We do not seem to have seen any radical solutions here, let us say for the time being. We do not see any radical solutions. Well, we are concerned in a good sense as you said, to put up some barrier to those forces so that they cannot simply babble, so that they see that the Communist Party, that the people, and folk....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] You are right about that.

[Ashmunas]...are tackling just those questions, and are tackling them while looking to the distant future. Another thing, Mikhail Sergeyevich. You said the following thing: Where there is a strong center, there is a strong republic. I would not see it as a trump card for the party that we are also tackling these questions, and tackling them with a view to the distant future. Another thing, Mikhail Sergeyevich. You said the following thing: Where there is a strong center, there is a strong republic. I would not see it as a bad thing if we give freedom to a strong republic and to a strong center. [repeated phrases as heard]

[Gorbachev] Please, please, please!

[Ashmunas] If there is a strong oblast, a strong republic, or if there is a strong kray, well, I believe that there will also be a strong center.

[Gorbachev] Just look at the world process. I understand what you are saying. But the dialectics are such that if you look at the world, even Europe—striding through all borders—is integrating, is being joined together. In so doing it is gaining an increment because of division of labor, specialization, and joint production, and is making faster steps forward. Consequently, if we now...[Gorbachev changes thought] God himself, as they say, determined our fate; in our country we have everything, from cotton, you understand, and raw materials and oil, to steppes and so on and so forth. Unity on a basis of exchanges governed by financial autonomy, and competitiveness—yes, that's it. Then Uzbekistan will have an interest in keeping up its tradition of growing cotton, rice, and so on, and good vegetables, and to give them to Siberia and so on. And Siberia will know that it is not enduring the extremes of cold in vain, and struggling with mosquitoes, in the process of giving energy and gas to the entire country. Is everything clear? Well, than all should be in perspective. Therefore, the general state of

everything should be taken into account. This is why those processes of harmonization would prove very difficult without a center which would [words indistinct] which would unite and integrate.

For that reason, both are necessary, both.

[Presenter] Arkhipov, fitter at the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine, has the floor.

[Arkhipov] Before coming here to the meeting, I met with nine collectives. There were as many as 400 people present from the collectives. The question of ecology is currently of greatest concern to us. Thirty-five years ago, it must be said, a great mistake on this question was made, that is, the construction of a metallurgical combine was started; and at the present time, the housing units are situated not more than 100 meters away from the combine.

[Gorbachev] 100 meters.

[Arkhipov] Yes, that is on Ulitsa Mira [Peace Street]. I can give you some figures based on this: In 1988, Mikhail Sergeyevich—we are suffering a great deal because of this—28 of our children were admitted to hospitals. I regard children as our wealth, our wealth. And here, we, above all the Communists, must begin to take a full account of the children's needs. And, Mikhail Sergeyevich, there is this question about housing. I will give you a specific example close to home, concerning myself. I have been working at the combine for 33 years. I am currently 52 years old—in my 52d year. The question of housing has only just now been decided for me. I believe that we must somehow reorganize ourselves in this matter. I don't know, food supplies in the town of Cherepovets...I have talked to many people here. It is as though we had it worse than everyone, Mikhail Sergeyevich. What is this? We have rationing, a coupon system. What is 500 grammes of sausage for one month to a steel worker, to a furnace worker in the blast furnace shop, or to a worker who has manned the coke ovens up top? After work such as that, Mikhail Sergeyevich, excuse the expression, he could eat that amount in one gulp.

[Gorbachev] Yuriy Vasilievich, you have discussed not only housing, but the situation in general. A word, as they say, is also an action. We are now increasing expenditures, and expenditures will be increased. We will increase the level of capital investment on housing construction. We have allotted enormous sums to health care, to education, culture. And do you know what, comrades? Indeed this last year, matters already, to a considerable degree, have slowed down somewhat by comparison with 1987. There was not the same growth. It turned out that many establishments were not brought into operation—it was simply a failure—these very establishments for social and cultural purposes, for domestic purposes. This means: the money was there; a contract had been allotted; provisions had been included in the plan; and then everything was wrecked. Well then,

it's the same old song again. We make a declaration, adopt a decision, allocate funds and, you know, everything remains in ruins. Therefore, in general, all spheres of life must be brought under the control of the real workers. We have reached agreement with Comrade Shalayev, and this matter is now getting under way with regard to workers' control over the spheres of trade and consumption.

Why? Because it has turned out, you know, apart from the fact that we see how year by year there are increases, there are increases in the amount of foodstuffs, there are increases in the amount of goods. If something increases, then it increases, but the position in the shops is not only not improving, but in some towns it has even gotten worse. But where is it going wrong? Where are these things disappearing? Where are they going to? We must work out the position, Comrade Shalayev, and it is being discussed. I see that the main criticisms coming in are these: it is correct, everyone supports it, but we do not sense any rights in this draft. But what is the most important thing for us in our country? It is the people and workers' control.

[Unidentified voice] It does not even permit....

[Gorbachev] This is a matter that can be resolved. Everything must be taken in hand. Why is it that at the internal canteens there is always good order, cleanliness, high standards, trimmings and least of all misappropriation, least of all? Because they would soon be found out there. So you are right to raise the question. There must be control over everything.

[Presenter] Malkova, a leading worker at a fashion house of the Moscow Siluet city production association, told of difficulties that have arisen in consumer services in recent years. Labor productivity has been rising only slowly, there is a shortage of modern equipment, and cadre turnover remains high in the sector.

Velichko, a team leader at Tiraspol 40-letie VLKSM clothing production association, takes the floor.

[Velichko] [passage omitted] Now on the question of profits. The question of profits concerns all of us. Profits must be taken into account, and we must be given the profits if we further reduce our labor costs. Ours have been reduced greatly by comparison with those of the industry as a whole. Sixty-four percent in our association.

[Gorbachev] I have been waiting for this speech because everyone...[Gorbachev changes thought] Excuse me for a minute, since we are having such a lively discussion. Many comrades have touched on the question of the norms for making deductions from profits, saying that the norm should be reduced and that more should be left with the works. Well, in general, one can understand this. But you are raising the issue only from that point of view. Why do you not raise the issue this way: Getting more profit by reducing costs, expenditures, labor inputs, as you say, and

all the rest. Then the difference between the prime costs and the selling price will be quite different, the profit will be quite different, and there will be more profit, and then more will remain with you.

[Velichko] Of course. So, we are already making efforts in that area, but what are you doing [words indistinct]

[Gorbachev] But all comrades want to change just the norms, without doing anything to increase productivity or to reduce input of electricity and materials and labor input, without technical progress. But who is going to move forward? We want you to know, this instruction has been given to the State Planning Committee and our scientists: To plan the 13th 5-year plan on scientific norms. That does not mean that if some situation develops at this enterprise today, we will adjust just the norm to fit that present situation, regardless of whether it is working badly or well—because if we produce norms that cover all the inefficiency and lazy work in the sphere of scientific and technical progress, then there won't be either leasing or financial autonomy there. What for? Why try? Why think? The norm will cover everything. We have lived like this, and we shall continue to live this way. Therefore, the norms will be scientifically based ones. And scientifically based means that if you work well, you'll earn, but if you work badly you'll earn badly. But comrades, that's the each-according-to-his-work principle, of socialism. In my opinion, that's the way it must be. And if you are punished, when you don't gain anything from it even when you reduce your labor input, then that's bad.

[Velichko] We have little, very little, if we even have anything at all, but it's too little, and we need more.

[Gorbachev] [laughter] Again, [words indistinct]

[Velichko] We have a plan, such large [words indistinct]

[Gorbachev] Well, I'll ask you a question, so that, you know, you will.... It does happen in these matters, in the norms, that attempts are also made to command through the norms—simply to quietly issue commands, through the norms, so to speak. All that does exist. No, not you, but it's from above that the norm is established. But I must tell you, so that the workers might know. Now, Yuriy Dmitriyevich [Maslyukov, Gosplan chairman] or, best of all, Nikolay Ivanovich [Ryzhkov], how large are our budget expenditure for social affairs, for pensions, health care, education, the Army and all that, on social things, what percentage of our budget goes to them? Seventy-five percent?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, something between 70 and 80 percent goes to these things, that's correct.

[Gorbachev] So, contributions to the budget are contributions to you and me. Education is free, medicine is free.

[Ryzhkov] If you take the social sphere plus the budget—what is needed to maintain the Army, and so on—and include the material sphere, meaning housing and kindergartens, then it's 83 percent. And only 17 percent goes to the production sphere, and 83 percent (?for the people).

[Gorbachev] So it's...the only thing is that we have engaged in it, and we shall now thoroughly carry it out: We shall cut the administrative apparatus, and expenditures on it.

[Unidentified man] (?In the executive committees.)

[Gorbachev] So you can start looking into that!

[Ryzhkov] Incidentally, in March we....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] And incidentally, why do many managers and specialists dislike leasing? Because as soon as leasing starts up, the workers, the rank-and-file workers, say, are immediately reduced, because they move on to a different level of productivity, but that administrative apparatus is cut by two, three, five, or ten times. That means that it is not necessary, comrades. [indistinct voices from the audience] And then the best people go into the leasehold collectives, (?pour in) and lead them. Others go into the cooperatives and lead there at that same works, and get things moving and provide extra output. That's the path we need. Now I want to ask Comrade Korolev, Anatoliy Maksimovich to speak. He is a team leader of lathe operators of the Urals Uralmash Works.

[Korolev] [passage omitted on need to replace aging equipment at his works] Why did I quote the example of my team? Only because contemporary machine tools provide the return required.

[Gorbachev] Yes, if those machine tools are in a production line, then the entire production line must be...[Korolev interjects to agree] It's one thing if it's an automated machine or a semi-automated machine on some part there, a stamper, say, that's one thing. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] At the rostrum is Nezhdanov, a team leader from Megiongazstroy Trust.

[Nezhdanov] And so....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Nikolay Pavlovich, how long have you been working on lease contracting?

[Nezhdanov] The works started this year.

[Gorbachev] This year.

[Nezhdanov] Yes

[Gorbachev] Aha.

[Nezhdanov] [passage omitted describing how his collective got started on lease contracting, and the work attitude that it has encouraged] Unfortunately, quite a lot of time has passed since it has become possible for collectives to go over to lease contracting. But even those who today consider themselves to be lease-contract collectives—I have information about my own region, I have worked myself with many team leaders and managers on this matter—they are honestly mistaken if they think that they are working under lease contract. It bears no resemblance to proper elementary team contracting.

[Gorbachev] Another example of deception.

[Nezhdanov] Yes.

[Gorbachev] And a most major example of it, too.

[Nezhdanov] Now looking into this question, I ran up against this: What's the problem, then? After all, there are some drafts of sorts. But there is no law, and that certainly is a serious impediment. [words indistinct] The departments are elaborating the regulations.

[Gorbachev] There will soon be a decree about lease-contracting, and later a law too.

[Presenter] Saar, team leader in the Construction Administration of the Tallinnstroy Trust, raised the question of the scientific organization of labor in his industry, the question of the prestige of a working profession. Like many who spoke, he drew attention to wages in state enterprises and in cooperatives. [passage omitted: Saar speaks about the problems of work organization at his work place]

[Gorbachev] Elem Aleksandrovich, I want to ask you and all the other comrades a question. What if we give the republics the right to decide by themselves in the localities the question of what taxes should be fixed for the cooperatives?

[Saar] That is just what is needed.

[Gorbachev] Can one really find out from Moscow what a cooperative is like and what....

[Saar, interrupting] Correct. That is how I see things. That is why the matter needs to be left to the republics. [passage omitted]

[Gorbachev] Well then, comrades?

[Unidentified people] We agree.

[Gorbachev] Hand it over to local bodies?

[Unidentified man] Give it to local soviets.

[Gorbachev] That is too specific. Our business is to give the power to the republics, and let them decide locally.

[Saar] I have the following small questions. And I would like to offer a suggestion: That young people who have finished vocational training college not be taken straight into the Army, but be given a year in which they could become part of the work collective. This is, of course, a big question.

[Gorbachev] Do you know what we have now decided? Concerning the first question, seeing as a new situation and reductions have been outlined, we have decided that students will not be taken into the Army during their studies.

I call on Sergey Nikolayevich Sysoyev, a driver working under lease contract at the Khimki haulage enterprise in Moscow Oblast. Tell us about your work. It is interesting there.

[Sysoyev] [passage omitted: Sysoyev feels like the master of his works] There is a chance to receive additional income after work for a plan customer by serving the public or another organization. I will cite some figures for my own district of Khimki. We have already entirely eliminated the problem of the public ordering vehicles.

[Gorbachev] And without any extra vehicles, is that so?

[Sysoyev] No. Everything has remained at the existing level. [passage omitted: Sysoyev says that his enterprise has gone over to individual lease contracting, and that it makes the most of each worker]

[Gorbachev] And what about the leaseholder? What do his earnings look like now?

[Worker] As for me, I earned 180 to 200 rubles before the transition to leasing. But I added on Saturdays, and there were Sundays. Now I get 330 rubles.

[Gorbachev] That's good.

[Worker] In other words, I have the fullest interest in leasing. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] Isammukhamedov, an engineer from the Tashkent locomotive depot, talked about the problems of developing internationalism in the country.

[Isammukhamedov] We are living in socialism. We must ponder this a little. We must help each other and share with each other. Then all will be well with us.

[Gorbachev] Moreover, nonetheless, financial autonomy will mean that the better an oblast or republic works, the better will be the standard of living of its working people. They must have a feeling for this. So this must be taken together. Indeed why, as we are saying, is it impermissible that people who give of themselves, people who are conscientious, qualified and active, should be given better encouragement?

[Isammukhamedov] Definitely.

[Gorbachev] It must be like that in the kollektiv, it must be like that in the rayon, it must be like that in the Republic. That's what we need.

We have brought in this element, financial autonomy, in what question? In the question of food. We said: In every republic and every oblast there are deliveries to the union and republican stocks. And the volume of these deliveries is confirmed for the 5-year period. Fulfill it, and everything you produce above it is your own. And many people have made great use of this. A great many oblasts have utilized it, and they are trying to increase within the 5-year plan, because everything in excess remains for local supply. Well, of course, things must be determined properly, so that the deliveries will stimulate a person to work, rather than clearly signalling failure in advance. In that case, nothing will be received in the stocks, nor will things change locally. All of this must be decided and explained in a sensible fashion. The same applies on a wider scale to other matters. [voices heard murmuring agreement] It is often said: How is it that in some places they produce one thing—Ivanovo is a textile area, say—in some places they specialize in producing meat. That's a tradition that has come about. And in some places vegetables, some places citrus goods—they don't grow in other places—and this is not just specialization but nature itself, so to speak, determining things. How is it that we don't see, they say, that we don't have enough cloth?

How is it, they say, that we do not see any fabric in our region, that there is a shortage, as if to say 'down with everything, down with all deliveries going elsewhere, let's keep everything for ourselves.' By the way, when I was working in Stavropol Kray I came up against this issue when I was asked at the chemicals [as heard] combine: What happens to Stavropol meat? We help at the meat combine to keep the work going round the clock, to keep the slaughtering going, and everything goes away. What is happening? Are the kray bosses sucking up to the center in order to look good, while we are sitting here with shortages? I began to explain: We have a planned economy; we exchange one thing for another; there is something which you do not have but we do; we do not produce metal anywhere, but we receive it; we receive all our machines, and so on. I explain; have I convinced you? Is it clear? It is clear, he says, we supply them with meat and they supply us with some bits of iron. [laughter] That is the reaction; it seems that I convinced him in one way or another. We supply them with meat, and Stavropol Kray supplies 75 percent of the meat produced for the all-union and the republican stocks. And by the way, they produce 2 tonnes of grain. This has been the case for a long time, even when I was working there. They produce 2 tonnes of grain per capita. And in the country as a whole 730, right?

[Ryzhkov] Seven-hundred and fifty.

[Gorbachev] Seven-hundred and fifty. So it seems that there is no problem. But how can this be so? Where do you get these tonnes from? Do you need a tractor? And all the rest? The Siberians would then say: Listen, with our oil and our non-ferrous metals and our.... And Tashkent could do just the same.... We shall go out onto the world market, we can always get foreign currency for our goods. And just try living there in Ivanovo region without oil and gas. In the Baltic region, too, try living without fertilizers, without anything at all. But that is not the way at all, comrades. It is absolutely the wrong way. It is nonsense. It is trying to profit from various difficulties which have arisen. It is an unscrupulous audience. It is not at all the issue that should be raised. The issue that should be raised is the one we have mentioned. What we need is harmony; we need it, you understand. But it is necessary that, within the framework of and on the basis of financial autonomy, it should be in the interests of the republic and of the oblast, so that everyone should pull their weight, work better, and produce better results.

Take Orel Oblast. Look what a neglected and run-down oblast it was. The situation is changing, and changing rapidly. This problem exists everywhere, here in Moscow, in the Baltic area, in Leningrad, and in other regions; it exists everywhere. It is not for nothing that we are putting it in the forefront of our practical work. So that is right; that is the right way to proceed.

[Ryzhkov] We have done calculations for the three Baltic republics, at world prices, with regard to what they are supplied with—cotton, oil, gas, and metal—and what they produce there—light industry—and so on. If one goes over to that principle, then all three republics are loss-making—all of them, every single one.

[Gorbachev] Well, no. I think that this is, in general, an unnecessary effort, but it is necessary to elucidate the question of reciprocal links. But to raise the issue of shutting oneself off, of imposing some sort of internal borders, introducing customs duties—and this is already being done—this, comrades, is the wrong way. What is necessary is to proceed along the path of a wise combination of the division of labor within the union, and that is the way forward. For example, is there anywhere with vegetables and fruits of a better quality than those in the south of our country? No, no matter what you do. All of this now needs to be developed so that each republic has its own face, and speaks, and also feels. There are oblasts in some places where they, so to speak, do nothing. They sit about waiting until people travel down from Moscow to conduct reforms for them at the enterprises, but they all have the same documents, the same ones for the whole country; but some have already progressed and are approaching leasing, while others are still deliberating—do you see?—and asking but how, and what will it bring, and what a lot of bother, and what will they give us, won't they give us the equipment, and but listen. What kind of restructurer is this? This is a whiner. That sort of approach should be punished. One needs to seek, to seek, but I think that these very views, sometimes even

extreme, exacerbate the problem in order (?to get things moving). We must not be so scared of this sometimes taking on an extreme form. Sorry, you wanted to ask a similar question....

[Unidentified speaker] You answered my question a long time ago, I've been sitting like...[laughter from Gorbachev and others] I was in the Baltic in 1955 and 1957, in Riga, in Estonia and they were simply remarkable people! Perhaps....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] They are here, too.

[Unidentified speaker]...they are now.

[Gorbachev] I'll say this to you...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] My apologies, of course.

[Gorbachev] I was in three republics and, for example, I know what Lithuania used to be like and what it has become, and incidentally, I see in this criticism which sometimes returns to the name of Snieckus—but you see this was a Communist, and a remarkable revolutionary, and he did so much—and this farmstead appearance of today's Lithuania. Today it is one with roads, and with what well-cared-for houses, and people know how to look after their housing and value it.

[Unidentified speaker] It's something else.

[Gorbachev] Much has been done, and well. Therefore, if anybody forgets from whence they began and where they finished, and all of that about living in vain—that's rubbish. People did not live in vain. We had great achievements and the losses were great, too, and the lessons ought to be drawn, from both the one and the other, leaning on achievements and resolutely overcoming what was done both by the party and by state bodies, and what was done in the localities. This needs to be put right, put right, resolutely put right, based on our approaches, on our socialist principles, proceeding from the interests of the working people, and no others. And then we will not lose our way.

[Unidentified speaker] Well, now....

[Gorbachev] Engine-driver, let's go straight down the road...[laughter] along the road of restructuring.

[Unidentified speaker] As an engine-driver, a railway worker, I would like of course for us also to have a very great restructuring.

[Presenter] Nazimova, silk reeling operator of the Dushanbe silk combine, analyzed in detail women's work conditions, especially of mothers with many children, and spoke about the shortcomings existing in the social sphere.

[Nazimova] Here I am for the first time in Moscow, and I see what technology we have—well just look at the aircraft—and in space. It is people that make all this; it is our science that does this. Well, why (?is no one supportive) in our production area, especially in our light technology industry? No one. In my opinion, they can do everything. But I do not know why they have not given us such equipment, such good equipment, so that we work well, so that we live peacefully.

[Gorbachev] [name indistinct] We'll now ask Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov. How much will be given by the end of—in 1990, for light industry, for the defense sector, and in the next 5-year plan?

[Maslyukov] Growth is proceeding at 34 percent a year. In all, 37 billion rubles' worth of equipment for light industry will be manufactured by defense industry workers.

[Unidentified speaker] Including silk reeling robots?

[Maslyukov] Including silk reeling robots. [laughter]

[Nazimova] Yes.

[Gorbachev] Remember that, do!

[Presenter] Litvinov, a milling machine operator of the Voronezh production association, which produces heavy duty excavators, has the floor.

[Litvinov] Many have spoken here and said that they are working profitably—are making profits—but I am probably the first to say that in 1988 we made a mess of the plan. Instead of 1200 excavators, we had a shortfall of 194. We have been making old equipment for a long time, although we switched over to new technology literally 5 years ago. If 5 years ago we were making (?hawser) machines and loaded them onto three rail platforms, now we are making one excavator and load it onto one platform. We are already making millions just from transporting loads. But life demands more, so we have gone on, and have created a fundamentally new excavator. With this excavator we ventured into the world market and, just think, we have already sold two excavators in the United States. But you yourselves understand that we, machine builders, cannot get out onto the world market that easily.

[Gorbachev] The most important thing is that we can, we can.

[Litvinov] We can. Just that possibility of selling our excavators abroad and using this hard currency to buy machine tools, gives great, huge prospects for the works. We are building a lot on the basis of economic methods. Every year we hand over one block of flats. But all these economic methods have their effect on people's nerves. This means—I will speak honestly, Mikhail Sergeyevich—that people are beginning to lose faith that we will give each one of them an individual flat by the year 2000.

It is not so much a case that we do not have the capacity, the forces, as that we do not have enough money for the materials. Individual construction has literally come to a standstill. We ourselves understand that building must be done in rural areas. However....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] But why don't major enterprises unite; if one enterprise cannot manage and get together?

[Litvinov] I was speaking about that. We have works that are—how shall I put it—are not profitable, are bad, but know how to make bricks. We are now working on this problem.

[Gorbachev] This, too, is restructuring.

[Litvinov] Also restructuring. So with regard to those whom I heard here complaining about food supplies: You know, in Voronezh we do not have this problem. We have a different problem. There is no toothpaste; there is no soap. This is what is not understandable. You understand. A cow takes 5 to 10 years to grow, but where did the toothpaste disappear to?

[Gorbachev] Faith in the market has collapsed.

[Litvinov] Absolutely true.

[Gorbachev] And we are selling more and giving out more and yet, nevertheless, the market (?has got out of hand).

[Litvinov] Quite correct. And the second problem that is worrying me—so to speak—I have spoken about cadres. How can one get the worker to put effort into restructuring? I think that our piecework payment system has become obsolete. It has become a brake both on quality and a brake on efficient production.

[Gorbachev] And what's your attitude toward supplemental pay?

[Litvinov] Well, I think that the differential between the categories should be remunerated, and it should be large. That is, a category should only be conferred once the worker completes either some economic course of (?whatever you want to call it), so that he has an inner need—you want to earn more, go and learn some, pass the category exam and then go and get your category.

[Presenter] The director general of the Jambul Khimprom Production Association, Atabayev, noted that an open discussion of the enterprise's problems by the collective brought positive results. All elections, from foreman to director, are held on a competitive basis, using an open ballot. The activity of the labor collective council, its insufficient involvement and adherence to principle, was critically analyzed. It was noted that leveling had not been fully eradicated. There are violations of labor and technological discipline.

In his speech, miners' foreman from the Novokuznetskaya Mine of the Yuzhkuzbassugol Production Association in Kemerovo Oblast, Bardyshev, pointedly raised the issue of ecology, of the inheritance left to our descendants. Irrational utilization of natural resources leads to great national economic losses. It is necessary to work out scientifically-founded plans for coal extraction, especially using the open-cast method.

Assembly fitter from Moscow's Likhachev Motor Works, Pyatchits, spoke about how to raise the standing of the worker profession and strengthen the role of the working class in the solution of social and welfare issues.

A worker from the Far East, optical grinder from the Amar Engineering Works, Matyushchenko, considers that the limits on wages should be removed and everyone's real contribution made the principal criterion for evaluating work.

Grinder from the Moscow Computing and Analytical Machines Works, Pushkarev; foreman from the Bogatyr pit of the Ekibastuzugol Association, Mukishev; boring foreman from the Kuybyshevneft Association, Feklov; foreman from the Kharkov Housing Construction Combine, Marchenko; and others spoke directly from their seats about extending the process of restructuring and activating the role of labor collectives.

Candidate Deputies' Election Platforms Reported

Lizichev Presents Program

LD1602234289 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 16 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Army General Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy and a candidate people's deputy, presented his program to the voters at a meeting of the Taman Division. [video shows close-up of Lizichev on platform at meeting]

After the meeting Aleksey Dmitriyevich Lizichev was interviewed by our correspondent. [video shows Lizichev seated]

[Begin Lizichev recording] At the present those issues that are of concern to people are being raised. That is to say, I was pleased above all by this openness in opinions, and the frank and forthright discussion of those issues that are of concern to people. People are in general not raising questions about what is of concern to the Army as a whole. They are asking questions about what is of concern to the people in a specific area and a particular formation—specifically the Taman Division.

Moreover, they are raising well-considered questions. When the regiment commander speaks, he raises issues regarding combat readiness. He raises the issue of combat training quality and the issue of the style of work of

cadres. When the chairman of the Woman's Council speaks she doesn't raise just any questions. She asks about the work arrangements for officers' families, about the provision of medical care for people, and about shopping and consumer services for people. But if one takes what is most important for everyone, it is concern as a whole about how to make one's contribution to the cause of restructuring, and how to see that the forces are combat-ready, that discipline is good, and that our cadres are interested in their work. [end recording]

Akhromeyev Candidate in Moldavia

LD1702091389 Moscow TASS in English 0902 GMT
17 Feb 89

[Text] Kishinev February 17 TASS—By a TASS correspondent Aleksandr Takiy:

At a district meeting in the city of Beltsy, Soviet Moldavia, 686 out of 710 participants voted for registering Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev as a candidate for the mandate of USSR people's deputy.

This was the result of not just the popularity of the military leader who is well known to cityfolk as their deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament). Those present at the meeting were attracted by his election programme which suggests further reductions in troops' numerical strength and armaments in the USSR without going beyond the level of sufficiency for a reliable defence of the country and its allies, and further cuts in spending on armaments in order to use thus released funds for civilian programmes, first of all those connected with the people's well-being. He favours conversion of part of defence-industry enterprises to the production of consumer goods.

Marshal Akhromeyev, who is adviser to the president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, emphasised the need for talks with NATO countries on lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe and throughout the world.

Another three people competed together with Sergey Akhromeyev for registration as candidates for the posts of USSR people's deputies. One of them, Ion Drutse, a prominent Moldavian writer, immediately preferred to stand for the mandate of USSR people's deputy in another district. The other two—Vasily Iovv, secretary of the city committee of the CPSU, and Nikolay Limonov, a journalist—tried to measure strength with the marshal during the district meeting which lasted several hours.

However, the secret ballot showed that Sergey Akhromeyev polled a record-high number of votes—more than 95 percent. But, since the meeting resolved to register two candidates, Vasily Iovv became the second candidate registered. He polled almost 200 votes less than the marshal.

Great Rise in Soviet 'Political Involvement' Noted LD1702003289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1356 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Feb (TASS)—“The mighty rise in the political involvement of the Soviet people is the most characteristic feature of the present election campaign in the USSR,” Dmitriy Kuznetsov, member of the Central Electoral Commission, has said. On the commission he represents the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation and Navy (DOSAAF) set up more than half-a-century ago. At present it has more than 100 million members.

All Soviet people are playing a most active part in putting forward candidates for people's deputies and discussing their programs, Dmitriy Kuznetsov stressed in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. He recalled that more than 8,000 people have been put forward for the 2,250 deputies' mandates. At the constituency pre-election assemblies being held in the country now, sometimes lasting even into the morning, the voters are studying thoroughly and in an interested manner the programs of all the applicants, in order to include the most worthy and competent people in the ranks of the registered candidates. A sharp, uncompromising pre-election struggle is going on. That is also a mark of this election campaign.

“At the same time, trips by members of the Central Electoral Commission to various regions of the country, and letters from citizens to the commission, show that not everywhere is this process proceeding as one would like,” Dmitriy Kuznetsov noted. Not all party and local soviet bodies have turned out to be ready for such active involvement by the population, and stereotypes have not yet been eliminated, such as a desire to organize everything in advance and to act according to the method of (?bans). Some constituency electoral commissions are not making full use of the great rights granted to them by the law on elections; and a formal approach to setting up the commissions, which are becoming a key element in the electoral system, has not yet been eliminated.

An analysis of the enormous experience of this election campaign, on which the Central Electoral Commission is already essentially engaged, will become the start of great work on improving further legislation on elections. This will make an enormous contribution to the development of restructuring and democratization in the Soviet Union, Dmitriy Kuznetsov stressed.

Supreme Soviet Group Defines Republic Rights LD1602210589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 15 Feb 89

[From the “Vremya” newscast]

[Text] A routine session of the Deputies' Working Group, set up by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to draft proposals on demarcation of the competences of

the USSR and republics, met in the Kremlin today. Many of those speaking approved the idea of enshrining in the USSR Constitution the principle of a republic having the right to decide all questions not coming under the jurisdiction of the USSR, USSR Constitution, and laws of the USSR. Stress was laid on the need to strengthen the guarantee of the republics' rights to dispose of and utilize the natural resources, which belong to the people and which are the property of the Soviet people, and also to devise juridical machinery for solving any disagreements during the examination of specific questions in the nature protection, health, public education, and other spheres.

Taking part in the session were officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers.

The next session of the working group is planned for the second half of March.

Lithuanian Church Leaders Appeal for Independence
*AU1602152989 Paris AFP in English 1523 GMT
16 Feb 89*

[Anne Penketh report]

[Excerpt] Vilnius, Lithuania, Feb 15 (AFP)—Lithuanian church leaders on Thursday appealed for the restoration of Lithuanian independence at the first officially approved ceremonies marking the Baltic state's Independence Day since it was annexed by the Soviet Union 49 years ago.

Lithuania's Roman Catholic cardinal, Vincent Sladkevicius, called for Lithuania to leave the Soviet Union after a ceremony to unveil a freedom monument in the city of Kaunas, participants told AFP.

Kaunas, 100 kilometers (60 miles) northwest of Vilnius, was the capital during Lithuania's brief period of national sovereignty from 1920 to 1939.

"It was the first time he has called outright for independence," said a spokesman for the Sajudis reform movement, Rimantas Kanapienis. "In the past, he had said we must go slowly."

Sajudis, officially campaigning for Lithuanian autonomy within the Soviet Union, had organized the event in Kaunas with official Communist Party approval. Party leader Algirdas Brazauskas told the thousands of Lithuanians present that "we must work together."

In Vilnius, Bishop Julionas Steponavicius appealed from the pulpit of the Roman Catholic cathedral here for a "peaceful struggle" for independence "in the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi," the father of Indian independence.

Meanwhile, a group of about 50 nationalists set off along Vilnius' main street chanting "Free Lithuania" in Lithuanian.

The demonstrators, supporters of the pro-independence Freedom League, also carried banners in Lithuanian, Russian and English that read, "Red Army go home," "Stop Communism in Lithuania" and "There is no free Europe without free Baltic states."

The Freedom League demonstrators later melted into a crowd studded with the recently legalized yellow, green and red flag of independent Lithuania. [passage omitted]

Celebrations Mark Lithuanian Independence Day
LD1702033389

[Editorial Report] Vilnius in English to North America at 2300 GMT on 16 February carries a 30-minute report by two unidentified correspondents devoted to coverage of the ceremonies marking Lithuanian Independence Day 16 February.

An announcer notes that the day's "official ceremonies" were opened in Vilnius with mass celebrated by Bishop Julijona Steponavicius and attended by thousands of people. They play a recording of Bishop Steponavicius in Lithuanian fading into English translation. He says, among other things that the last partition of the Lithuanian-Polish commonwealth in the 18th century pushed our country into 120 years of complete darkness. Yet whatever hardships the Lithuanian nation was destined to experience, it retained its national identity, language, and literature. Undoubtedly the church contributed a great deal to this cause.

Bishop Steponavicius also speaks of the national revival movement, which has currently gripped all of Lithuania. He urges the youth, which is the future of our country, to love their country, to be morally strong, to abstain from alcohol, and to work for their country's benefit.

In conclusion Bishop Steponavicius says, "While marking the day of national rebirth and the reestablishment of the Lithuanian State let us, the Catholics of Lithuania, repeat together these words in our hearts: My body belongs to Lithuania, my heart to the Catholic Church, and my soul to God." remarking that in Cathedral Square in the center of Vilnius the 14th century belfry came back to life, the correspondent plays a recording of the Lithuanian melody played by the bells and reports that tonight a big gala concert of Lithuanian national music was held.

The second correspondent then says, "Now let's move to Kaunas, where the Liberty Monument was unveiled today. The Liberty Monument has returned to the same spot where it was once erected on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of Lithuania's independence. After standing for many years, it was secretly pulled down by the stalinists in 1952."

The first correspondent adds that the Liberty Monument unveiling ceremony was attended by 200,000 people and the monument was consecrated by Cardinal Vincentas Sladkevicius. In his address (in Lithuanian fading into English translation), Cardinal Sladkevicius points out that "Independence Day is celebrated not as the state of independence already attained, but as our coveted goal, and we believe that independence will be not only our past but also our nearest future." The Cardinal tells the crowd that the day will come when we will be an independent nation.

As the monument is unveiled, deputies of the Sajudis Seimas pronounce their oath: "We, deputies of the Sajudis Seimas, express our will here at the foot of the Liberty Monument on Lithuania's Independence Day. Let Lithuania be such a State as its people want it to be. Our goal is a free Lithuania, and our destiny is Lithuania. May God bless our efforts and may people of goodwill from all over the world come to our aid."

Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, then congratulates all the people of Lithuania, saying that the Lithuanian nation has achieved quite a lot during a comparatively short time, but now it is facing other big tasks, which must be achieved by joint efforts.

The first correspondent recalls that the question of Lithuania's future was discussed yesterday at the session of the Sajudis Seimas in Kaunas. The first sitting of the Seimas was relatively calm and consistent, but the second was marked by pluralism of opinion and lasted until well after midnight. As Seimas Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis pointed out, the correspondent says, the pluralism of opinion was a welcome phenomenon. Also welcome, Landsbergis said, although not without exception, was a growing tolerance and restrained behavior. Perhaps some of the opinions expressed by the Seimas deputies were rather (?maximalistic), especially those concerning the way we are going to live after separating from the Soviet Union. But all those opinions contained one and the same idea, Lithuania will be the kind of a state that the people of Lithuania want it to be.

Landsbergis further remarks: Most Seimas deputies proposed for Lithuania the road of freedom and called upon the Seimas to declare Lithuania's aspiration for freedom. So it was done in the declaration adopted by the Seimas. It was said that the Lithuanian nation has never overcome the loss of its sovereignty. The Lithuanian reform movement expresses the nation's resolution to restore its rights by peaceful means. It wants to be independent of any kind of dictatorship. The Sajudis is seeking to achieve Lithuania's political, juridical, economic, and cultural independence. It wants to see Lithuania as a sovereign state and is not going to confine itself to partial achievements. The Sajudis declares Lithuania's citizens' right to choose the form of their state life as being one of the essential human

rights. The Sajudis Seimas swore to pursue the same at the foot of the Liberty Monument unveiled today on Unity Square in Kaunas. The gist of this oath can be expressed in two words—Free Lithuania.

The correspondents next report on the unveiling of a memorial plaque today in Vilnius, where 71 years ago the document was signed declaring Lithuania's independence. During the years of Stalinism, the memorial plaque was torn down. Members of the Sajudis Seimas Council arrived in Vilnius straight from the ceremonies in Kaunas. A member of the Seimas Council declares that in order for a nation to exist, it must have freedom just as a man must have air to breathe. The father of Sajudis Chairman Landsbergis quotes the poet of Lithuania's Liberation Movement, saying that everybody should fight courageously to defend Lithuania's freedom and independence.

The large crowd moves to Cathedral Square for the relay of a conference on history. A standing ovation greets the presidium, the correspondent says, among which is First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Algirdas Brazauskas, leaders of the Lithuanian Reform Movement Sajudism and other outstanding public figures. The conference is to reevaluate and size up the significance of 16 February to the Lithuanian nation, the correspondent says, noting that five reports are made, viewing in different aspects key events of 1918.

In his speech Brazauskas declares the nation's wish to see Lithuania flourishing, democratic, and sovereign. Algirdas Brazauskas notes that the new and objective assessment of Lithuania's history could not erase the heritage of the past generations and that the nation also has the national song as the national anthem, and the tricolor yellow, green, and red flag as the state flag. Brazauskas stresses that it was the will of the nation that Lithuanian be the official language, the correspondent notes, but that Lithuania is the common home for all—Lithuanians and Russians, Poles and Belorussians, Ukrainians and Jews, Tartars and [word indistinct].

Lithuania without sovereignty is without future, Brazauskas says. The nation will embark on its economic self-reliance next year, and independent political and cultural lives were also taking their first steps, Brazauskas remarks, emphasizing that Lithuania will become a legal and self-reliant republic within the federation of Soviet republics.

Following remarks by a philosopher, an actor, and two historians, the conference ends.

Responding to the correspondent's question, a member of the Sajudis Seimas remarks the "inevitability of regaining independence in the nearest future is necessary for all Lithuanians."

The report concludes with the correspondents noting that the crowd is heading toward Cathedral Square for a folk music festival.

Lithuania Autonomy Movement Rallies Held
AU1702131189 Paris AFP in English 1215 GMT
17 Feb 89

[Anne Penketh report]

[Text] Vilnius, Lithuania, Feb 17 (AFP)—Radicalisation of the nationalist movement in Lithuania, which Thursday staged mass rallies in support of independence, poses a new challenge to a Kremlin currently labouring to redefine relations between Moscow and the 15 republics, analysts in the Lithuanian capital said Friday.

Documents adopted by the Sajudis movement, which was founded last October to push for greater autonomy, fall short of calling for outright independence, but speeches by Sajudis leaders and Thursday's "Free Lithuania" oath sworn by an estimated 200,000 Lithuanian nationalists in Vilnius and in Kaunas by Sajudis secretary Virgil Cepaitas left no doubt about the movement's ultimate goal.

"Every one knows what we want," Sajudis ideological spokesman Arvyrdas Juozaitis told AFP on Thursday during the rally here, as hundreds of nationalist flags waved behind him. He said Sajudis was holding back from demanding independence for tactical reasons at this point.

"Now a law on a referendum is being worked out. We will hold a referendum, and then its bye bye Soviet Union," Sajudis press spokesman Rimantas Kanatienis said. In Lithuania, 80 per cent of the 3.5 millions population are ethnic Lithuanians.

The new search for independence ironically appears to have been given a boost by the ruling Communist Party, which has in the last few months legalised the flag of independent Lithuania, raised the Lithuanian language to official status, and recognised the Lithuanian national anthem.

Lithuania was an independent state between the two world wars and was annexed by the Soviet Union along with neighbouring Estonia and Latvia in 1940.

On January 26, the authorities declared February 16 a public holiday to commemorate the 1918 declaration of Lithuanian independence, making these mass rallies the first to be allowed since annexation 49 years ago.

Lithuanian Communist Party leader, Algirdas Brazauskas, who took over as first secretary only four months ago, "is in big trouble" with the Kremlin for his concessions to the nationalists, according to Mr. Juozaitis.

Mr. Brazauskas's team also has other worries, as Sajudis is fielding candidates in all of the 42 seats allotted to Lithuania in the new legislature in Moscow, to be elected next month.

The Communist Party leader is being challenged in Vilnius by Mr. Juozaitis, although some Sajudis members have reservations about the wisdom of such a confrontation as Mr. Brazauskas is seen as a pro-reform official.

M. Juozaitis said the election "will be a popularity test" between the unofficial reform movement, which claims 60,000 active members, and the Communist Party which has 25,000 card holders.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and the official Soviet press this week expressed alarm about the latest developments in Lithuania, which could have a snowball effect in the neighbouring Baltic states.

Next week is the anniversary of the independence of Estonia, where a popular front similar to Sajudis is also pushing for greater autonomy with mass support.

But Sajudis is unconcerned about threats of a firm rebuke from Moscow. On the contrary, "It is fine. What can they do? They have no juridical arguments, they only have physical force and they won't use that," Mr. Juozaitis said.

Lithuanians feel that Moscow would not attempt a show of military force, as in the southern republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan, because of Western public opinion.

America and Western Europe have never officially recognised the Soviet annexation of the three Baltic states.

Some Sajudis members privately wonder whether the latest developments could pose a threat to Mr. Gorbachev himself as architect of the new spirit of glasnost (openness), at a time when conservative opposition to radical reforms continues.

"What do the people think in the West? Do they think we are putting Gorbachev in danger if we go too far?" one prominent Lithuanian asked Thursday before stepping on to the speakers' platform to call for a free Lithuania.

TASS Lawyer Admits False Reporting From Estonia
LD1702115489 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish
1130 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] When the court proceedings against the Soviet news agency TASS ended in Tallinn, Estonia today, the news agency's chief lawyer admitted that the correspondents had spread false information. The TASS lawyer promised that corrections would be issued. Last November the Estonian People's Front started legal proceedings against the TASS news agency for what was considered grossly false reporting from Estonia.

Estonian Delegation Returns From Visit to Finland
PM1702081589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 5 Feb 89 p 2

[ETA report by L. Sher: "Relations With Finland Are a Serious Matter"]

[Excerpt] On the evening of 3 February a news conference by a delegation from the Estonian SSR which had returned that day from Finland, where it had been at the invitation of the parliamentary faction of the Finnish People's Democratic League, was held in the Estonian Radio White Hall.

"Our trip was not simple," M. Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, told journalists. "The Finnish side took our visit very seriously, as is borne out by our reception by Finnish President M. Koivisto. We also met with many of the country's leading politicians and representatives of business circles. In brief, the results of the trip may be summed up as follows: The Finnish side, like us, views the development of relations between Estonia and Finland as an important aspect of the development of Soviet-Finnish relations as a whole. I shall not try to hide the fact that the statements of some of our republic's citizens on the other side of the Gulf of Finland, within the framework of private trips, have given Finnish politicians cause to doubt whether we are sufficiently reliable partners for contacts at state level. Our visit seems to have convinced them that there are no grounds for such doubts. We must use this and prove it in practice."

M. Titma stressed that the delegation met with representatives of virtually the entire Finnish political spectrum, but here they acted as a single side, proceeding from general state interests. It would be no bad thing for us to learn this political culture. It must be realized that it is intolerable to mix personal relations and internal differences with large-scale state politics.

To all appearances, relations with Finland in the most varied aspects—economic, political, and cultural—will continue to develop very dynamically, and we must be ready for the possibility of creating mutual permanent missions. But we must bear in mind, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary noted, that resources in our Republic and in Finland are limited, that ties should be mutually advantageous, and that the sides should be able to pay.

Concluding his speech, M. Titma said:

"We will hardly go so far as a tunnel under the Gulf of Finland, but we must build a bridge over it."

M. Lauristin, member of the board of the Estonian People's Front, spoke of the Finnish public's interest in the Estonian delegation.

"People whom you rarely see at such events gathered 2 February for a press conference in Helsinki before our departure," she said. "The Finnish figures saw in the delegation and in its composition confirmation of the fact that there has been a real expansion of the political scale in our republic."

M. Lauristin, as chief of the Tallinn State University journalism department, could not, of course, bypass the question of the degree to which the Finnish population is informed about the state of affairs and the processes taking place in our republic. She noted that this information is extremely eager and is drawn mainly from the central Soviet newspapers.

K. Khalik, a leading scientific staffer at the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law, was a member of the delegation as a specialist in the field of interethnic relations, and it was about this that she talked at a seminar in the Finnish parliament.

"The country is attentively following and in general understands many of our problems in this field," she stressed. "And this attention is generated to a considerable degree by the fact that the Finnish side is interested in the stability of the situation in Estonia for the development of all-around ties. For all their sympathy for the Estonian people's past plight, for all their ethnic proximity to them, the Finns are very disapproving of any attempts in our republic to set Estonia against the rest of the Soviet Union. Many such questions were put, even in connection with the Law on Language." [passage omitted]

Estonia To Retain Local Time in 'Firm Decision'
PM1702095989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 9 Feb 89 p 1

[Letter to the inhabitants of Estonia from Indrek Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers: "Dear Inhabitants of Estonia!"]

[Text] Dear inhabitants of Estonia!

The restoration of local time is our common concern. In addition to the well-known official reports I can say just one thing—the switch to local time will begin in March this year, when we shall not be changing the clocks to summer time, as it is known. This was and remains a firm decision by the Republic's government. And we are going to implement it.

Earthquake Causes Problems for Armenian Schools
PM1602132589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own Correspondent S. Bablunyan report: "Classes Continuing"]

[Text] Yerevan—The Armenian Ministry of Public Education has been working intensively all these weeks. The subterranean tempest wiped 165 schools, technical colleges, VUZ's, and kindergartens from the face of the

earth. A further 430 buildings survived, although they cannot serve their purpose without undergoing capital repair first. As a result, 156,000 school children and 7,000 students were left idle.

The majority of the schoolchildren from the disaster zone will continue to study in Georgia, Krasnodar Kray, Stavropol, and the Crimea. Textbooks in Armenian, teaching aids, and everything else to enable the normal educational process to be organized will be sent to the schools where the children have been temporarily relocated.

The "Luys" ("Light") publishing house has to publish 155 textbook titles for Armenian schoolchildren within a very tight schedule. This is approximately 30 million printed sheets. It is quite obvious that this task can be resolved only by placing a part of the order with printing houses elsewhere in the country. It will take a considerable amount of extra paper and money. The union and republic State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade must help to resolve this problem.

It is much more crowded in many Yerevan schools now. In school number 77, for example, there are now almost 1,500 children, where there used to be 800. They are sitting 3 to a desk. Desks are needed but there aren't any. There is also a great demand for other equipment. The criticism here is leveled primarily at the local authorities. They should not wait for desks to arrive from Mexico or Australia.

*** Supreme Soviet 23 Nov Ukase on Azerbaijan, Armenia**
WA18300351a Moscow VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA USSR in Russian No 47, 23 Nov p 791

"Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. On Urgent Measures To Restore Public Order in the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR"]

[Text] Taking into account the deteriorating situation in the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR in connection with events concerning Nagorno-Karabakh, and also the expressions of serious concern from numerous Soviet citizens that interethnic relations in these republics remain tense, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees as follows:

1. To give officials of the organs of internal affairs and security troops empowered by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs the right at the local level and at populated points where a curfew has been imposed to detain for up to 30 days under administrative procedure persons who by their actions stir up national discord, provoke violations of public order, or incite antisocial actions, and also persons who actively prevent citizens and officials from exercising their legal rights and carrying out their duties.

2. To establish that persons detained in accordance with paragraph 1 of this ukase shall be held in accordance with the rules established by law, in special centers of the organs of internal affairs or in other premises as determined by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

3. This ukase shall go into force with effect from 24 November 1988.

[signed] M. Gorbachev, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. T. Menteshashvili, Secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
The Kremlin, Moscow, 23 November 1988 No 9822-XI.

*** CPSU Resolution on Transcaucasus Evictions**
WA300351c Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSSR in Russian No 1, 1989, pp 4-5

"Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers. On Impermissible Actions by Particular Officials of the Local Organs in the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR in Forcing Citizens To Leave Their Homes"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers notes with particular concern that in the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR an intolerable situation has been created in which, with the connivance and sometimes even the direct involvement of individual officials from local party, soviet and economic organs, extremist groups are committing acts leading to mass eviction and departures of citizens from their homes because of nationality. As a result, tens of thousands of people from both republics have been left without housing, work or the means of existence. This is a violation of the constitutional rights of Soviet people and is inflicting moral and material harm on them. All of this is worsening the complex situation in the republics. In many cases the local law enforcement agencies are not taking the proper steps to restore order and are failing to repulse the actions of extremist elements.

In order to safeguard the interests of citizens and cut short the unlawful actions of officials in local party, soviet and economic organs, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolve as follows:

1. To condemn as a gross violation of the constitutional rights of citizens of the USSR the actions of particular officials in local party, soviet and economic organs in the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR who permit and pander to the eviction and departure of people from their places of permanent residence because of their nationality.

2. To demand that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Azerbaijan and Armenian councils of ministers and the law enforcement organs take immediate and decisive steps to cut short these unlawful actions. To make a strict political assessment of each

such case. To consider continued membership in the party or remaining in the state apparatus or the law enforcement organs to be incompatible with persons permitting arbitrary rule and lawlessness.

3. Party and soviet organs in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR must do everything necessary to render assistance and aid to the population that has left its permanent place of residence. They must develop political and organizational-practical work extensively to enable people to return to their homes and to normal labor activity.

The government commission will provide every possible assistance in resolving this acute and urgent problem.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, Secretary of CPSU Central Committee. N. Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.
The Kremlin, Moscow, 6 December 1988, No 1396.

*** CPSU Resolution on Transcaucasus Citizens' Rights**
WA18300251b Moscow SOBRANIYE
POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSR in Russian
No 1, 1989, p 3

"Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers. On Serious Violations of the Constitutional Rights of Citizens in the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR"]

[Text] Numerous complaints have been received by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers from workers in the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR in connection with the mass nature of dismissals from work because of nationality. Reliable information is available showing that economic and party leaders are not only failing to deliver a rebuff to this criminal willfulness but are even sometimes directly pandering to unlawful actions and even becoming directly involved in them.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolve as follows:

To demand that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the councils of ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR, and ministries and departments decisively cut short the gross violations of citizens' constitutional rights and take all necessary steps to prevent any repetition in the future. The managers of enterprises, establishments and organizations, and also of party and soviet organs who permit unlawful dismissal of citizens from their work because of their nationality, shall be held personally responsible to the extent of expulsion from the party and dismissal from their posts, and, in cases as provided for by law, held criminally responsible.

To carry out the work to eradicate these kinds of nationalist and unlawful manifestations in an atmosphere of extensive glasnost. To inform the labor collectives about steps being taken with regard to officials, and also to make this public via the press and the other mass media.

To report on compliance with this decree to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. N. Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.
The Kremlin, Moscow, 5 December 1988, No 1395.

11 Railcars Derail in Ukraine; No Casualties
LD1702071589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0625 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 17 Feb (TASS)—Eleven cars derailed from an approach track adjacent to the Chernomorskaya station of the Odessa Railways (Soviet Ukraine), the paper GUDOK reported today. There was an acid spillage from two tanks, but no one was injured. The substance that got onto the track has been neutralized and does not pose an environmental threat. An investigation into the cause of the accident is being conducted.

*** Vigilance Toward Ukrainian Nationalists Urged**
WA18000481 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by Vladimir Davidenko: "Wolves Are Still Wolves"]

[Text] Kiev—Recently we have been hearing appeals to change our attitude toward bourgeois nationalist bands that have been operating in western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR. They say it is time to "rehabilitate" them, to raise monuments to Banderists who have "died in combat," and to regard the armed formations of the Ukrainian Insurrection Army [UPA] as detachments of the "national liberation movement," directed against Stalinism and against known violations of the Leninist national policy in the Ukraine.

Everyone who remembers the times of unruly bands resolutely protests against this kind of irresponsible approach and harshly condemns the criminal, misanthropic nature of nationalist banditry.

Let us turn to the facts. And relying on them, let us try to answer, first of all, two essential questions: What brought about the creation of the UPA band? Who organized and is in charge of them?

...Nationalist leaders driven out of Russia during the twenties and thirties looked for contacts with reactionary circles in the West. The emigrant counterrevolution,

particularly the leaders of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists [OUN], linked their hopes to Hitler's fascism and his policy of aggression and war.

During the 1930s the OUN center and its leading cadre were based in Germany. Maintained by their military intelligence service, the Abwehr, they were used actively for conducting espionage and terrorist activity against the USSR. A precise description of the ideological foundations and political practice of the OUN was given by a former member of the central command, M. Stepanyak. "The ideology of the OUN," he wrote, "was formed during the period of the rise of the fascist movement in the West, under its influence, and according to its model... The OUN has adapted its entire policy to the military goals of fascism."

With the beginning of the Great Patriotic War the so-called mobile ground groups of the OUN, who had been trained by the Abwehr long before the attack on our country, broke through following Hitler's units. Their participants were instructed to create and head an auxiliary occupation staff—city and rayon headquarters, newspaper editorial staffs, "detachments" and "stanitsas," and the so-called Ukrainian police. Bloody reminders were left on the Ukrainian land by the Banderists of the Roland and Nachtigal battalions, which were created by the fascists at the beginning of 1941 and were part of the sabotage-terrorist Abwehr regiment, Brandenburg. In just the first week of occupation of Lvov members of fascist punitive expeditions and their lackeys killed more than 5,000 residents of the city—Ukrainians, Russians, Poles, and Jews.

In a document directed to the reich minister for affairs of occupied eastern territories, Rozenberg, the person who was Bandera's deputy at that time, the chairman of the so-called Ukrainian state board, Yaroslav Stetsko, in September of 1941 wrote "Our position is complete economic support of Germany by the Ukraine with all the means available to us, for this is a matter of general success or failure. The more so since the German people should receive the appropriate compensation for the immense sacrifices made by the German army in the battle with Moscow.... The Ukrainian board committed itself to providing this compensation.... I, as the Head of the Ukrainian Government, gave the fuhrer this guarantee."

The piratic OUN actually gave the bloody fuhrer this compensation. With the blood of innocent victims, the ashes of partisan villages, the plundering of the republic economy, and treasures of Ukrainian national culture, unique manuscripts and invaluable works of art that were brought into Germany.

Of course, having been trained and armed by Hitler's bands, the OUN-UPA was formed not to fight against Stalinism and not to protect the interests of the Western Ukrainian population, which the nationalists proclaim today, but for performing specific tasks of the fascist Abwehr and SD [security service of the Nazi SS]. Mainly

for supporting the German rear units and fighting against partisans. I recall that at that time the front passed 1,200-1,500 kilometers away from western Ukrainian land.

The UPA was not homogeneous in its class composition. The majority of its leading cadre came from kulak families, the urban bourgeoisie, and the reactionary Uniat clergy. At the same time one cannot agree with the idea that was fashionable until recently that the bands consisted exclusively of hostile class elements, criminals, and so forth. Everything was much more complicated than this. Among those who comprised the bands, especially in the first stage, there were many who were taken in by national demagoguery or frightened by bands of peasants, and there were also those who were indignant with Soviet authorities because of violations of social legality in the local areas, unjustified arrests, or the resettlement of close friends and relatives.

Believing the propagandistic statements of the OUN that they would be fighting against the fascist oppressors for the "liberation" of the Ukraine, some of the former local guard and military prisoners—refugees from German concentration camps (incidentally, not just Ukrainians)—also entered the bands, and there were also quite a few local residents who were hiding from the total mobilizations for German penal servitude. They were the ones who, in spite of the categorical prohibition from leaders of the OUN-UNA, attacked small rear facilities of the occupation troops, Hitler's troops, and Banderists who appeared in the occupied zone. These individual attacks, although they were random in nature, elicited abuse and repressive measures from the OUN gang leaders.

Soviet researchers, trying not to exaggerate the political significance of the band forces, in the majority of cases depicted the UPA as small, isolated, disorganized gangs who had neither the appropriate military training nor a unified centralized leadership. This is apparently why it was difficult for certain scholars to explain how in a situation like this the nationalist bands managed for more than 7 years to terrorize the population and cause such serious damage to the economy and culture of the area.

But in reality the organization of the insurgent army was provided by experienced officers of the fascist Abwehr and SD. The leading positions were held by those who at one time had gone through basic training in the Reich's military sabotage schools. Even the organizational foundations and the very structure of the UPA reminded one of the system for structuring the SA—fascist storm troops created by Hitler and Rehm as early as the twenties.

Leading circles in Berlin placed a high value on the role of the band troops. "The UPA," the deputy chief of the political division of the Reich ministry for occupied eastern territories, Otto Breitig, reported to Deputy Minister Rozenberg, "is now a very valuable combat weapon against the Bolsheviks and deserves all kinds of support."

After the liberation of Kiev and Zhitomir and the entry of Soviet divisions into the territory of Rovenshchina and Volynya, Hitler's special services began feverishly to prepare OUN-UPA bands for conducting subversive activity in our troops' rears. The fascists increased the bands' supplies of weapons, ammunition, and means of communication. In the intelligence schools created by the fascists in Dublyany and Bryukhovichi in the Lvov area they feverishly trained terrorists, saboteurs, raiders, and other combat specialists for the UPA. The cadre for these schools were recruited from the leaders of the OUN.

The desire of foreign bourgeois nationalist leaders to humanize and heroize the UPA, to wash Nazi swastika sticker off from it, is explained to a significant degree by a desire to join with the "law and order" slogans of certain bourgeois politicians in the United States and other NATO countries and to present themselves as some kind of "fighters" for freedom and democracy. To this end, foreign OUN members have used well known funds to publish hundreds of the corresponding prepared memoirs, monographs, and historical surveys in English, German, and French.

But what does our truly historical memory tell us about this? I have had occasion to write about this in the newspaper RADYANSKA UKRAINA.

In 1944 alone, immediately after the liberation of the Western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR from Hitler's occupation, bandits completed 3,287 attacks on cities, villages, and military and transportation facilities. In 1945 there were 3,427 of these attacks. In spite of the underestimation of the period of stagnation by certain historians, in essence there was the question of the attempt on the part of the Banderists to undermine the socialist transformations in the Ukraine and to drown in blood the striving of the workers for a new life.

The leading position in the activity of the bands was assigned to terror. Defining their task for the first summer of peace in 1945, one of the UPA leaders, Krylatyy, demanded that his subordinates terrorize the population and destroy not only those who were hostile to the bandits, but also their friends and relatives. "We must," he declared, "reach a point where not a single village recognizes Soviet power. The OUN must act in such a way that all who support Soviet power are destroyed. I repeat: they must be not frightened, but physically destroyed."

And they destroyed them. A great deal of documentary evidence has been retained concerning the crimes of the militant bands, including that which came from the pens of the OUN members themselves, who regularly reported to foreign centers concerning their activities. A good deal of this kind of factual material has been retained in the archives. Here are just a couple of examples:

"On 19 March 1944 group L and the district combat unit conducted an operation in the village of Bogorodichin (Kolomyyskiy Rayon in Stanislav Oblast). They burned 50 farms and killed 46 people."

"On 29 March 1944 Semen's group killed 12 people in Pererosl (Nadvornyanskiy Rayon in the same oblast) and set fire to 18 farms. Six more farms were burned on that same evening."

"On 11 April 1944 Dobush's group killed 81 people in Rafaylov (now the village of Bystritsa in Nadvornyayskiy Rayon)."

And this was in 22 days in two rayons!

The murder of innocent people evoked condemnation even from certain OUN leaders. "While still underground, and especially while serving time for punishment for activity hostile to the Ukrainian people," wrote a former member of the main "conductor" of the OUN, Vasily Galas, "thoughts were gnawing away at my brain: in the name of what had I spilled my brothers' blood and committed cruelty that could in no way be justified? Cases of bestial punishment by OUN members to their victims to the point of death itself will appear before my eyes as a terrible mirage. Tell me, what was the crime of the nursing children whose heads the Banderists bashed open?"

Unfortunately, we do not yet have the final generalized figures concerning the number of people shot, hanged, and tortured by the Banderists. But still we can already give certain figures: the bandits killed more than 30,000 Soviet citizens, including 2,662 Party workers and activists.

Among those killed and tortured were a deputy of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, the writer Ya. Galan; one of the organizers of collectivization in the Lvov area, M. Matsko; an instructor of the LKSMU Central Committee, P. Vysotskaya; secretary of the Yaremchanskiy Rayon komsomol in Stanislav Oblast, V. Gnatyui; first secretary of the Podvolochisskiy Party Raykom in Ternopol Oblast, I. Bagryantsev; first secretary of the Strekolovski Party Raykom in Drobych Oblast, P. Dudko; first secretary of the Kozobski Party Raykom in Ternopol Oblast, A. Konyukh; secretary of the Stanislav LKSMU Obkom, I. Leshchinets.... The eminent church figure G. Kostelnik and more than 50 priests who took patriotic positions in favor of uniting the Uniat church with the Russian Orthodox Church died at the hands of nationalists.

Effective assistance was rendered to the OUN leaders by the Uniat hierarchy, particularly Count-Metropolitan A. Sheptitskiy. In the summer of 1944 after the liberation of Lvov, when it seemed that the horrors of the occupation and the bandit terror had come to an end, Metropolitan

Andry in a conversation with the commander in chief of the UPA, R. Shukhevich, again demonstrated the worth of his "love your brother" and his pharisaical "thou shalt not kill."

As a well known scholar of the Uniat Church, S. Danilenko, who knew Sheptitskiy well, wrote to the arch bishop, all one had to do was appeal to the UPA leaders to stop their villainy and bow before the people in order to stop the blood letting and prevent the appearance of more victims. But the metropolitan did something else.

"The actions of the UPA against the Soviet authorities," he confided in Shukhevich, "are now of immense significance for the future. On the eve of the peace these actions must be reinforced in all ways in order to show that we do not want to live under the Soviets.... Any negotiations between the UPA and the Soviets would be a betrayal of our national ideals. Remind our people—faithfulness to the blood. Are they afraid of death? Let there be death, but not betrayal!"

Agencies of Soviet authority, guided by principles of humanism, even during the war tried to convince the UPA leaders to halt the senseless fratricidal battle which was doomed to defeat. To this end in February 1945 negotiations were organized between representatives of the republic government and the insurgent army command. They were held on the night of 28 February-1 March of 1945. At the suggestion of the Banderists (they did not want to reveal the meeting place ahead of time), government representatives traveled by car from Lvov to Ternopol at 8 p.m. without any guard.

After the almost 3-hour journey over the bumpy, snow-covered road, when they were already in the Ternopol area, the representatives of the government of the Soviet Ukraine—Colonel of state security Sergey Trasovich Karin and Major of state security Aleksandr Alekseyevich Khoroshun—were met by a large group of representatives of the UPA. The negotiations were held at one of the khutors near the village of Konyukha in Berezhanskiy Rayon. The UPA was represented by the chief of staff of the "insurgent army," Dmitriy Mayevskiy ("Taras") and the head political leader Yakov Busel ("Galina").

The Soviet representatives stated that the government of the Ukrainian SSR guaranteed all participants in the OUN-UPA, including leaders of all ranks, pardon for their crimes against the people and release from any criminal or other liability if they would cease their hostile activities. Those who would obey the people would be given the opportunity to study in the VUZes and tekhnikum, to work in any sphere of the national economy, or to obtain land to work. They were also guaranteed freedom of choice of a place of residence within the Ukraine, housing, and, if they wished, the opportunity to serve in the Red Army.

The negotiations lasted for more than 5 hours. But the gang leaders refused to consider the proposals of the republic government. As subsequent events showed, they interests only in creating for the rank and file of their army the appearance of "seeking reconciliation with the authorities." And at the same time they wanted a break for regrouping.

In response to the party appeal workers of western oblast engaged more and more actively in the fight against the bands. Recalling the immense contribution of the fighters from the people's formations and the party, Soviet, kolkhoz activists, and komsomol members, who had turned gray a long time ago, to the cause of routing the members of the bands, it must be frankly stated that the local party and state agencies had not yet shown the proper concern for their truly courageous patriot-internationalists. Possibly because over the decades some people had tried to underestimate the significance of the fight against the bands and did not want to return to the dramatic past, which was by no means included in the generally accepted formulas of "epic accomplishments" and "historical achievements."

There had long been a need to solve the problem of giving veterans of the battle against the OUN-UPA bands the status of participants in the Great Patriotic War and their corresponding pension. And at the same time they had to express their attitude toward those who wanted to rehabilitate the nationalist bands.

When speaking of the fight against OUN banditry one must not bypass one other subject about which discussions have been developing and rumors have been spreading recently. We are speaking about the resettlement from the western oblasts of the Ukraine to the eastern regions of the country of families of kulaks, bandits, and henchmen of OUN-UPA bands. During the years of the personality cult and stagnation people were stubbornly silent about these facts, which caused foreign nationalists to regard them as a "blank spot" in the postwar history of the republic. Yet there was no justification for remaining silent about the resettlement. We are speaking about a time of dramatic opposition to the nationalist bands, when kolkhoz structures and rural schools on the Ukrainian land were in flames, and when hundreds and thousands of Soviet patriots, innocent children, women, and elderly people died at the hands of the bandits.

I am not trying to justify excessive punitive measures. But there were also measures that were justified. Under the conditions of the keen battle and the band terror, resettlement outside the republic of those who deliberately supported and hid the bands and provided them with everything they needed was a necessary measure. The resettlement of the associates and active supporters of the band groupings deprived the latter of a social base and contributed to bringing a halt to the bloodshed. As concerns the fantastic figures that have appeared recently in the foreign nationalist press and certain other

irresponsible publications and statements (from 2 million people and more), they have been pulled out of the air, to put it mildly. According to archive materials, from 1944 through 1951, 65,906 families or 203,662 people were moved out of these oblasts.

Incidentally, there can be no justification of illegal repression of even one person. And, unfortunately, such cases did occur in the practice of legal protection agencies of that time. The "accomplices" of the OUN-UPA, with all the consequences that follow from this definition, were frequently people who under moral and physical pressure, sometimes under armed threat, offered the bandits temporary shelter, food, and money.

As concerns the resettlement of the accomplices, after the defeat of banditry and the nationalist underground, they were permitted to return to their native areas. Many did this and they now enjoy all the rights of Soviet citizens. Others—they are the minority—remained in the eastern regions of the country. But there were still others whom their fellow countrymen refused to take back in their previous place of residence.... For example, residents of the village of Bryukhovichi in Lvov Oblast, having convened a town meeting, informed a former nationalist that "although the authorities have pardoned you, we are unable to forgive you. Everyone knows that you killed honorable people, and you cannot live in our village."

No, nobody can either embellish or humanize the disgraceful history of the UPA or transform it into some kind of national liberation movement. The OUN is true to itself even today. Speaking before the microphone of the BBC, the Vice-Fuhrer of the OUN, the leader Ilya Dmitriv cynically stated: "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, as in the past, is prepared to resort to military methods."

The Banderists are again developing plans for criminal adventures and preparing arms and training personnel for more punitive expeditions. This again reminds Soviet people of the need to recall the dramatic lessons of the past and not be taken in by empty phrases.

Uzbek Secretary Nishanov Addresses Intellectuals
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in Russian 3 Feb 89 pp 1-2

[Report delivered by R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, at 2 February meeting with cultural figures at Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee: "Creative Forces of the Scientific and Artistic Intelligentsia at the Service of Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] We can all see that restructuring has shaken up society, roused people from social apathy and moral lethargy. At the epicenter of the animated debates in the republic today are the most vital, most urgent problems, a considerable proportion

of which were not so long ago either hushed up or pushed into the background. They include questions of the siting of production forces and the utilization of manpower, ecology and demography, monocultural cotton growing and the shortage of food products, problems of the Uzbek, Russian, and other languages, the cultural heritage, ethnic relations, and much more. Different and sometimes diametrically opposed opinions are expressed on all these issues. It is sometimes hard to find your way around this diversity of opinions, this wide spectrum of views. Here a considered, competent assessment and skilled analysis are particularly important. Especially since our dynamic life poses more and more new problems every day, problems that must be resolved without delay.

It is only natural that in this complex and contradictory atmosphere we rely substantially on our intellectual forces, the great detachment of scientific and cultural figures. [passage omitted]

It may be noted with satisfaction that in our republic the practice of friendly and enthusiastic dialogue with the intelligentsia is spreading and a situation is developing that precludes administrative diktat and voluntarist approaches.

At the same time democracy and trust are by no means equivalent to complacency and tolerance of shortcomings or, worse, of phenomena incompatible with our ideology and morality. A high degree of responsibility presupposes a high degree of exactingness too.

Why am I mentioning this? Because isolationist and even disruptive trends have recently appeared, along with the useful trends, in the republic's sociopolitical and spiritual life. There is, for instance, the exaggerated thesis of the "slave labor" of Uzbek villagers, the poisoning of the fields and water, the "flouting" of the republic's rights, even "national tragedy," and so forth.

Complex and in many ways contradictory issues relating to the demographic situation, people's health and ecology, and the historical and cultural heritage are not infrequently interpreted simplistically, with an excess of emotion, and sometimes deliberately distorted. The feelings of young people, especially students, are cheaply exploited. Dubious ideas, speculative rumors, and conjectures are circulated among young people.

Some people try to channel the people's sincere interest in their history and traditions and the growth of national self-awareness and social activeness into a nationalist mold and confine them within the framework of various kinds of informal groups, which are often designed more to draw attention to their initiators and their ambitious aspirations than to serve in practice the interests of the people and the objectives and tasks of the renewal of society.

Moreover some comrades insinuate the idea that restructuring has not even begun in Uzbekistan, that those who actively call for radical renewal are supposedly being "suppressed." And this against the background of the intensive work of cleaning up and creation that is taking place in the republic.

The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government, with the support of Communists and all healthy forces and the constant, effective assistance of the CPSU Central Committee, are adopting resolute measures to further eradicate the consequences of negative phenomena, normalize the situation completely, and improve people's living conditions. The republic leadership is far from trying to put a curb—as certain self-styled leaders put it—on democratization and glasnost. We have a great many acute, unresolved problems in every sphere of the economy and social and cultural life. There are still recurrences of overreporting in the national economy, and new instances of embezzlement and bribery are uncovered. I have already spoken about monocultural cotton growing, people's low living standard, disease, and poor trade and medical services. We make no secret of this. We are striving gradually, step by step, to resolve these problems.

In these conditions it is politically necessary for all of us to conduct a calm, businesslike, and critical analysis of restructuring processes and seek practical ways of resolving acute, burning problems, and not endlessly to exaggerate and sensationalize instances of shortcomings in our development which we ourselves have spoken of openly and honestly in party documents.

At a recent session of the committee on the Aral Sea held in the auditorium of the Uzbek Writers' Union, instead of a quest for means and a study of constructive proposals for overcoming a grave ecological situation, there were slanderous attacks and onslaughts on the government and antirestructuring cries accompanied by whooping, stamping of feet, and surreptitious applause.

The speeches of Doctors of Sciences A.K. Pulatov, N. Khudayberganov, M. Mirzayev, and O. Karimov, poets Zokhir Alam and Gulchekhra Nurullayeva, and many others contained slanderous elements.

This so-called meeting was more like a trial of strength in which the main weapon used by the speakers was not the weighty argument, but the stronger fist.

May one ask the committee's chairman, Pirmat Shermukhamedov: Who was assembled for this session, and what aim did the organizers pursue? Naturally, we cannot ignore such outbursts.

We have information about similar meetings and various gatherings of a nationalist nature in certain VUZ's and technical colleges in Tashkent, Samarkand, Karshi, and other cities and the distribution of anonymous

pamphlets with nationalist content in Fergana and Syrdarya Oblasts. We also know the organizers of these phenomena, who hide behind restructuring slogans.

It is our party and moral duty resolutely to rebuff everyone who speculates on the complex socioeconomic situation in Uzbekistan and tries at all costs to satisfy his own ambitions, push the ideas of national isolationism, and discredit restructuring. We will not in any circumstances give up the principles of socialist ideology and the people's internationalist and patriotic traditions.

I want to make myself quite clear: We are not avoiding urgent and difficult issues, we are prepared to discuss them at any level. It should not be forgotten that it was the party that launched the processes of democratization and glasnost in our society. But we are resolutely opposed to demagoguery and irresponsible opinions. Glasnost and pluralism of opinions should promote not confrontation, but the rallying and consolidation of forces, not destruction, but construction.

A calm, rational analysis, businesslike discussion, and all-around consideration of all the arguments "for" and "against" and on that basis the formulation of the most sensible decision—that is the kind of debate we are prepared for and the kind of discussion we welcome. [passage omitted]

We will continue to support everything new and advanced that comes into our life with restructuring, and at the same time we will notice mistakes and negative trends in this matter in good time, so as to avoid and prevent their development. [passage omitted]

Obviously, at our meeting today we cannot disregard another group of issues that prompts perhaps the most animated debates. I am talking about ethnic relations, the further stepping up of international education, the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of Soviet people. Our achievements in this sphere are common knowledge, and there is no need to mention them. But it is also clear that today no one has any illusion that ethnic relations are problem-free. Restructuring has exposed many neglected ills and distortions here, and the events of recent years in Alma-Ata, Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia, and Azerbaijan showed clearly how far unresolved problems can lead us.

The sources of such phenomena vary. But the majority are closely associated with specific shortcomings in economic development and the neglected state of the social and consumer sphere. The formation of firm internationalist positions is affected substantially by defects in ideological work and the underestimation of the negative influence of feudal, patriarchal, and religious prejudices and clan and parochial arrogance. Marked moral damage was done to the cause of international education by Rashidovism, when painstaking day-to-day work to

improve ethnic relations, form an internationalist awareness, and meet the national cultural needs of all nations and ethnic groups living in the republic was replaced by unrestrained eulogies and ostentatious events.

As you know, the party is now devoting exceptionally great attention to problems of harmonizing ethnic relations and a CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the matter is in preparation. In the course of preparations for the plenum, multifaceted work is under way in our republic too. A discussion has taken place in labor collectives and party organizations and among representatives of the public and the creative and scientific intelligentsia, and requests and requirements submitted to the mass media have been summarized. As a result a whole package of concrete proposals has been formulated on strengthening ethnic relations and stepping up international education, and these have been sent to the CPSU Central Committee.

Much is already being turned into practical action. The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Commission has set up working parties on questions of people's festivals and customs and on language problems, and corresponding documents are being prepared. A number of measures are planned with a view to more fully satisfying the national cultural requirements of various nations and ethnic groups, especially in places where they are concentrated. In particular, questions of setting up interethnic cultural centers are being studied.

Initiatives on strengthening economic, political, and cultural ties with the fraternal republics, first and foremost our neighbors, merit all-around support and approval. We have recently had meetings with the leadership of Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, and Turkmenia, in the course of which pressing questions of mutual interest were discussed and proposals drawn up to extend and deepen our ties. [passage omitted]

In the context of the growth of national self-awareness increasing significance is attached to language problems and the practical resolution of tasks associated with the development of bilingualism and multilingualism and the acquisition by the republic's population both of their native language and of Russian, that important means of interethnic communication. A good many urgent matters have indeed accumulated here. But they must be tackled extremely thoughtfully and cautiously, taking into account the interests and opinions both of the indigenous population and of the entire multinational population of the republic.

This has to be mentioned, because a certain section of the creative intelligentsia today proposes that the Uzbek language be given the status of state language out of hand. Another section puts forward the proposal to have two state languages: Uzbek and Russian. Numerous proposals are made on the inexpediency of instituting a state language at all.

These questions are very complex and demand all-around consideration. It must not be forgotten that language problems are not confined to the matter of language, but are very closely interwoven with political, economic, and ethnic problems. We are all children of the single international family of Soviet peoples, and we must always proceed on that basis. We have instructed a working party of the Central Committee Ideology Commission headed by E.Yu. Yusupov, vice president of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, to generalize all the proposals and embark on the drafting of a corresponding document. Incidentally, Erkin Yusupovich himself, like the writer Timur Pulatov and many other comrades, advocate bilingualism in the national language and Russian, multilingualism, and the declaration of Uzbek and Russian as the republic's state languages.

Naturally, it is necessary to cultivate love for the native language and improve its teaching in every way. We emphasize once again that the native language is the basis of man's spiritual nature and inner culture, his civil, intellectual, and moral makeup. With a view to stepping up and improving the study of the Uzbek language, it is proposed to draw up a comprehensive "Uzbek Language" program, bearing in mind that harmonious bilingualism and multilingualism implies preferential mastery of the native language. This also applies to the study of the Kazakh, Tajik, Kirghiz, Turkmen, Karakalpak, Korean, Crimean Tatar, and other languages. Without waiting for corresponding developments and proposals, it is necessary to begin the in-depth study of the Uzbek language and extend its sphere of application. It cannot be considered normal that in densely populated rural regions soviet sessions, plenums, aktiv meetings, and conferences sometimes are held other than in Uzbek. At republic Supreme Soviet sessions too, the main reports should be delivered in Uzbek, with, of course, simultaneous translation into Russian. If a report is delivered in Russian, then naturally a simultaneous translation into Uzbek is necessary.

Unfortunately many of our auditoriums are not fitted with translation equipment, and also there is a lack of skilled interpreters. Is that such a difficult problem, could it not be resolved quickly? Is it likely to take enormous capital investments? [passage omitted]

At the same time the natural love of one's native language cannot be allowed to turn into national arrogance and linguistic chauvinism. It goes without saying that the study of Russian by the non-Russian population requires radical improvement.

I also wish to say a few words about our attitude to the historical past. The people's keen interest in their history, cultural heritage, and traditions is among the positive phenomena prompted by restructuring. But it must be admitted that at one time there was an excess of zeal here. The voluntarist actions of the former Central Committee leadership on the ideological front did considerable damage. Suffice it to recall the tough policy

with regard to believers, the artificial imposition of invented customs, the consignment to oblivion of a number of national customs and festivals such as "Khosil Bayrami" and "Kovun Saili," the banning of "Navruz," and so forth. Party and soviet organs and our creative intelligentsia, together with the broad public, should do substantial work not only to restore to these festivals and customs their original beauty and meaning, but also to enrich them with new, socialist content.

We must study the pages of history and culture extremely carefully and objectively and restore historical justice where necessary—it is not only a question of the creative work of, say, Abdulla Kadyri and Usman Nasyrov or a comprehensive, objective analysis of the creative activity of Fitrat and Chulpan. We must also remember, for instance, the 10th Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Plenum in 1952, where a number of prominent writers, scientists, and party and state figures in the republic were unjustifiably and gratuitously accused of nationalism, among them Aybek, Sheykhzade, Shukrullo, Shukhrat, Turab Tula, and others. The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee is now considering the question of revising the assessments of that plenum, which took place in the period of diktat by Stalin's personality cult, when Beriia's methods of exposing dissidents were at their height. [passage omitted]

Party organizations, scientists, and cultural figures, in formulating and resolving any socioeconomic, ideological, or organizational issues, should always take into account people's psychology and nationalist feelings. In everything that concerns such a sensitive and delicate sphere as ethnic relations, it is necessary to show particular sensitivity and circumspection, but at the same time special vigilance, and to conduct a principled struggle against national conceit and arrogance and the slightest deviations from the principles of internationalism.

It is impermissible for a scientist or cultural figure to give in to a demagogic attack and remain shamefully quiet in a situation that involves an encroachment on our international foundations, and even more for him to adopt narrow ethnic positions himself. In this connection I remember a saying of Rasul Gamzatov's: "He who loves his people should not endlessly, on every occasion, beating his breast, speak in the people's name; he should serve them in word and deed. The true patriot is an internationalist. He who wants his nation to flourish should have good feelings toward all peoples, especially now... Self-isolation, alienation, and enmity, when they spring up, must be plucked out like weeds." Wise words!

On analyzing the changes taking place in the republic's spiritual life, we are extremely disturbed by this question: How appropriate to these changes is the atmosphere in the creative unions and scientific and artistic collectives? Restructuring processes have certainly introduced a fresh spirit of renewal. Events are being studied, especially in current affairs journalism, and some serious

analytical articles have appeared. All the same, restructuring has, in our view, been delayed unjustifiably in the scientific and creative sphere.

What is old and obsolete still not infrequently prevails over the new shoots. Let us face up to the truth: How can one fail to notice that fashionable phraseology in the spirit of restructuring is sometimes unable to conceal the scientific bankruptcy of a whole series of studies and disguise their isolation from real life? In some scientific institutions glasnost is still not held in high esteem and mutual back scratching, reliance on mediocre but obsequious cadres, and secrecy in decisionmaking still flourish.

Some scientific cadres, social scientists included, are passive in public life and do not engage in aggressive propaganda work. But the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences leadership and the leadership of scientific institutions apparently do not notice this or self-critically evaluate the state of affairs.

Our creative workers lack the ability and sometimes also the desire to grasp the dialectics of present-day reality in all its diversity and complexity and to concentrate their efforts on the graphic, realistic, and highly artistic depiction of life and the creation of images of the true champions of restructuring.

Questions of creative work are still not infrequently pushed into the background by self-seeking group interests, while the quest for artistic truth gives way to the pursuit of personal advantage.

UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA recently informed us about an entirely unprecedented episode: The writer F. Kamalov submitted a request to the Uzbek Writers' Union Board to remove him from the union because of the abnormal situation there. Is it not time to put an end to this? I think the union's party organization and Communist writers should have their say here.

It is particularly worrying that the settling of scores and mutual accusations between certain creative figures sometimes go on in an impermissible tone, in terms that are entirely unworthy of an intelligent person. Moreover all this not infrequently takes place in the newspapers. Incidentally, it would do no harm if our press were to be more circumspect and thoughtful in its approach to preparing its material. The expansion of glasnost does not mean that anything goes, it cannot justify a low standard of polemics and frankly incompetent work. It cannot be tolerated that in a number of publications there is a great deal of emotion and a touch of sensationalism, errors and inaccuracies are encountered, and at the same time there is a lack of solid, reliable, and convincing discussion.

Let us do away with this, let us study the art of debate, the skills of communication, let us engage in the quest for truth with respect for the opponent, in a friendly and tactful form. We now have too many important and

urgent tasks to waste intellectual effort on fruitless disputes or the satisfaction of someone's ambition. I hope you will be in solidarity with me here. [passage omitted]

'Power Vacuum' Mars Yakutsk Disaster Relief Effort
PM1602142189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Letter from Lieutenant Colonel A. Chomchoyev, deputy chief of the Yakutsk ASSR Civil Defense Staff, under the rubric "Topical Letter": "Easing the Effects of the Weather"]

[Text] In early January Chokurdakh village on the Indigirka River was hit by misfortune. High winds tore down powerlines, a diesel power station was shut down, pumps were put out of action, and heating to apartment buildings and other structures was cut off. Heating had been restored to around half of the village buildings, including the schools, kindergartens, and stores, by evening. Around 1,500 people were moved into the remaining buildings. Boarding school pupils were placed with families.

I took part in the work to deal with the Chernobyl AES disaster and, clearly, it was for this reason that it was suggested that I fly to Chokurdakh, investigate the situation, and explain what could be done to help. It should be said that the entire autonomous republic responded to the Chokurdakh villagers' distress. A center to help the victims was set up in Yakutsk, and planes started flying everything needed to eliminate the consequences of the disaster into the settlement on the Indigirka. Teams of volunteers—sanitary engineers and electricians from neighboring areas—flew in....

So what did I see upon arriving in Chokurdakh? Chaos and confusion among the rayon leaders who had proved their inability to lead people in the face of danger.

First I had to find out just what had actually happened. However hard I tried I could not get an exact answer. Party Raykom First Secretary P. Kovalev said one thing, Rayispolkom Chairman P. Popov said another, and Settlement Soviet Chairman I. Struchkov (who, incidentally, was highly effective in the hours immediately following the breakdown and was in charge of all work himself) said something else. Nobody could even give precise information about the windspeed and air temperature on that terrible day. For some reason this information was classified. After protracted effort I did manage to get some information from the local weather station. But I could not get any further in my investigation.

The rayispolkom chairman himself held sessions in his department's cold building, stubbornly refusing to move to the party raykom's warm building. The dislike between Popov and Kovalev, which was openly talked about in the village, clearly had something to do with this. The bulk of the work of coordinating the repair teams' operations was undertaken by A. Popov, general

director of the "Yakutzhilkomkhoz" Association, who had flown in from Yakutsk. But even he was often restricted in his actions by the "collective" leadership method which the local authorities used in order to dodge personal responsibility for certain decisions.

The headquarters was in session every day, and between sessions not a single decision of the slightest responsibility was made. Materials and equipment that had been flown in lay unclaimed at the airfield, while repair teams were left idle. Finally the sanitary engineers from Cherskiy, who had borne the brunt of the work during the toughest first few days, could not put up with this organization and flew home. After all, the patience of the even the most conscientious people has its limit!...

Clearly specialists will determine the technical problems that led to these unfortunate results. But I am concerned about something else: The system of rayon leadership when there are many layers of administration, when responsibility is shifted onto a whole string of officials, and when collective irresponsibility prevails as a result.

I am a military man and perhaps I think in too direct a fashion, but it strikes me that without a single economic management center it is impossible to continue living in the difficult polar regions. Currently responsibility for the rayon is shared between the Soviet authorities and the party raykom, and if the chairman and secretary do not get along we find everyone pulling in a different direction. Today the situation is being exacerbated by the power vacuum that has been created, since the raykoms no longer involve themselves in economic matters, while the Soviet authorities still lack prestige among economic managers. All this was very clearly seen during the disaster cleanup work.

Perhaps my letter is somewhat disjointed, but I cannot sleep nights because of everything I saw in Chokurdakh. And I am continually concerned about those who found themselves dueling with the weather and bureaucracy in the polar night.

Historian Blames Stalin for WWII Mistakes
LD1702100189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0700 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] The scientific conference "Documents of the USSR State Archive Collection on the Strengthening of the Country's Defense Capacity on the Eve of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945" is continuing its work at the central state archives of the Soviet Army. Conference participant Colonel General Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov, doctor of philosophical sciences and head of the Institute of Military History of the USSR Ministry of Defense, is at the microphone.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Dmitriy Antonovich, documents previously unknown to us have now appeared. What is new that can shed light on the beginning of the war?

[Volkogonov] The past must be returned to our people and historians are working on this. Very large teams at various institutes are at work in the archives trying, first and foremost, to tell the truth about that period. The Institute of Military History, which I head, has been working for a long time in the most varied archives, which were previously closed to us. We want to write an honest book. The main thing is that it is already clear to us today that the principal hero in the war is the people. We have not yet written a good, real book that fully evaluates their selfless devotion, martyrdom, and stoicism.

[Correspondent] What can be said from the documents that have appeared and been opened?

[Volkogonov] The documents are today shedding a great deal of additional light on the August treaty, the Nonaggression Pact with Germany, and the so-called Treaty of Friendship. Although "so-called" it was a real treaty, even though it was a big political mistake, an operational political measure.

[Correspondent] Why do you think we suffered such losses in the first stage of the war?

[Volkogonov] Well, there were very many reasons. Despite the fact that information kept coming in to show that the invasion was about to take place, right up to the last moment Stalin ordered that the enemy should not be provoked. Troops were not deployed in their field positions and fortified areas. The headquarters were not in position. We were not prepared, by and large. Even though we knew, we were caught unawares, paradoxical though that may sound. Mainly to be blamed for this are Stalin and those around him, who, after inflicting massive repressions on the command staff, did not correctly identify the direction of the main thrust by Hitler's army. On the eve, they did not carry out the necessary operational measures to prevent it. At the same time, Stalin himself was somewhat confused. He was simply in a trance in general, in psychological shock. Mistakes, mainly of a political and operational nature, led to those great losses. But one can only be amazed at how, in that extremely tragic and grave situation, the people stood firm. Soaked in blood, they held firm.

Making use of the documents and the testimony of those who took part, today we can reconstruct a truthful picture of what happened. That is what we are now doing. [end recording]

Volkogonov Interviewed on Book About Stalin
PM1602162789 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 10 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Colonel General D. Volkogonov, doctor of philosophical sciences, candidate for USSR people's deputy, by V. Logunov under the rubric "MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA Dialogues": "Truth Must Not Be Seen as a Luxury"; place and date of interview not given]

[Text] [Logunov] Dmitriy Antonovich, when will you complete work on your book "Triumph and Tragedy"? It

seems to me that it follows the tracks of the major work being done by literary figures and scientists to interpret the past and to understand the present and possibly the future.

[Volkogonov] I think that in the wake of the huge wave of newspaper coverage of the history of socialism we are already entitled to expect the appearance of a large number of books on this period. I know that publishing houses are already working on them and "solid" journals are printing a lot of interesting material. This can only please us. As far as I am concerned, I also have finished work on a two-volume book which I hope will come out this summer.

[Logunov] While having as yet only a general idea of the book's contents, I would imagine that some people would take a critical stance on what you have to say about Stalin and Stalinism. This would be understandable in people who have committed evil. But why is it that many others today are still reluctant to accept the assessments and are unwilling to recognize even incontrovertible facts? Why do they continue to believe in Stalin?

[Volkogonov] I don't think that it is any more a question of Stalin. It is simply that we often use this man as a prism to look at our past, at our fatherland's and our own destiny. Until major, remarkable, real, positive results are achieved in the social and economic spheres, there will always be an opportunity to revive interest in this personality and phenomenon.

In my view, speaking specifically, there are the following reasons for the Stalinist myths' tenacity. For older generations this period represents their best years, the years of their youth. As Ludwig Feuerbach aptly remarked, "A look at the past is always a jab at the heart." Heroic endeavors in labor and on the front line are associated with those years. These people created much of what we all are using as a foundation now. They merit our profoundest respect. Quite often an elderly person does not find it easy to abandon views held for decades. Beliefs are not a cloak that can be changed.

Another reason behind the slow liberation from the mummified dogmas of Stalinism is the slowness in releasing for circulation and in making the public aware of data based on accurate documents and reliable testimony. Hearsay narratives are often unconvincing and only generate new questions. Archives should have been opened up and document anthologies published a long time ago. I think that a positive role in this regard will be played in particular by the revived publication of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS. Truth must not be seen as a luxury.

To continue. Everyone writing about that time, which has receded for ever into the past, inevitably comes up against a methodological problem: Stalin and the people. In rejecting and condemning the dictator because of his

crimes, autocracy, and deformation of ideals, you immediately come up against the problem: But what did people, the party, and the people do? As a matter of fact, Trotsky wrote a short while before his death in Mexico: "I am totally unable to extricate myself from the noose of a contradiction—I hate Stalin and cannot separate the people from him." I think that many Soviet researchers encounter the same problem. The whole point is that Stalin's "secret" and his "strength" were rooted in the fact that, having monopolized "the right" to interpret and "uphold" Lenin, he managed to gradually make his name synonymous with socialism and make himself the symbol of socialism.

[Logunov] But socialism and personal dictatorship are incompatible....

[Volkogonov] This is the point: Stalin somehow managed to achieve their fusion. There is perhaps another "secret" of Stalin's triumph and the people's tragedy: The Leader [vozhd] managed to gradually replace the cohort of revolutionaries with an army of functionaries. The bureaucracy and Stalin needed one another. Afterwards Stalin started looking at the building of socialism not as a social but as an administrative task. The dictator actually deemed it possible to achieve "paradise" on earth at the price of unbelievable sufferings and sacrifices by millions of people.

I think that even Stalin's supporters today would not agree that the success which is now so eagerly desired should be achieved by using his methods: punishment, fear, threats of repressions. We have already paid this historical price. But the actual process of transition to a situation whereby the national economy is managed by economic laws and not by directives is hard and painful. It is obviously possible that things will get even worse before they become any better. I am no economist. We all read with interest analytical articles by Abalkin, Latsis, and other specialists. It would be nice, however, if such people did not analyze processes as observers but actually headed major sectors of our economy. By the way, there have always been extremely few major economists in the echelons of our power. Bukharin, Voznesenskiy.... In fact the "directive economy" did not need them. But now? We are entitled to expect enhanced competence in our economic management.

The renewal for which we hoped so much has encountered tremendous difficulties, and this has even made some people revel in malicious glee. Look, they say, you criticized everybody and blamed Stalin for everything, but what did you produce when you tried yourselves? In other words, I agree with you: The lack of positive results revives to a certain extent nostalgia for the good old times—there was order, people say, everything was certain. We did not know the meaning of inflation, we led a modest but "stable" life....

[Logunov] Of course, the best way to refute this view is to finally achieve a breakthrough in the economy or at least to stabilize the situation.

[Volkogonov] I personally feel greatly alarmed by the present situation. It is impossible to endlessly postpone the plans for improving people's life until "tomorrow," from tomorrow until "the day after," and so on. People have just one life and the elderly can hardly be satisfied by the prospect of life getting better by, say, the year 2000....

[Logunov] Dmitriy Antonovich, this prompts my next question: What was Stalin's attitude toward the future? Did he believe that his name "would shine forever through the ages"? Or did he live only for the present?

[Volkogonov] In politics Stalin was never able to bridge the gap between past and future, assuming that the present is only "prehistory." The famous Russian philosopher Nikolay Berdyaev remarked once that "the past is illusory because it is no longer in existence, and the future is illusory because it is not yet in existence." Remember, Stalin was recklessly forcing the pace ("We are 100 years behind and must catch up within 10 years"). He was prepared to destroy millions of people in order to "fulfill ahead of schedule" the collectivization plan, he deemed it normal to exterminate thousands of his party comrades in order to achieve complete "unanimity" as early as possible. But it is impossible to make people happy at the cost of the loss of countless lives. Stalin went "plunging into the future" but couldn't see it. He was no prophet. He could not even foresee that the 20th party congress would be held just over 3 years after his death....

[Logunov] The question then is: We now know so much that is negative about Stalin that you get the impression that he was a monster from childhood. Was he a revolutionary at all?

[Volkogonov] Evidently yes, he was a revolutionary. But to what extent? The years of underground work, exile, and imprisonment; the time of revolution and civil war; and the influence of Lenin, the genuine leader of the revolution—these factors shaped in this man features which were typical of many others at that time: faith in the veracity of the ideas of Marxism, belief that reality can be transformed according to them, and absolute commitment to class criteria. Incidentally, because of his inconspicuousness during the October Revolution, Stalin did not provide all that much material for historians. He followed in the wake of the revolution, he was one of its extras even though he belonged to the leadership component. There is even hitherto unknown evidence indicating that Stalin was at times capable of making independent decisions, something that Lenin could not have failed to appreciate. Let me cite a very unusual document. I do not know if it has ever been published....

[Logunov] Interesting, very interesting indeed....

[Volkogonov] The following question was among those discussed at the 28 November 1917 session of the Council of People's Commissars which was chaired by Lenin (and was attended by Trotskiy, Stuchka, Petrovskiy, Menzhinskiy, Glebov, Krasikov, Stalin, Bonch-Bruyevich, and some others). Let me just read an excerpt from the protocol.... Here it is, this document:

"The session heard:

"2. Draft decree (submitted by Comrade Lenin) on the arrest of prominent members of the party Central Committee who are enemies of the people (sic—D.V.) and their trial by revolutionary tribunal.

"The session resolved:

"To adopt and ratify (adopted unanimously, with only Stalin voting against)."

Such behavior by Stalin might seem unbelievable today. Could it be that this was how Stalin wished to become known? In any case, this little known fact testifies that Stalin underwent quite an odd evolution in his development. He was not always a vampire. Initially, this evolution must have been quite positive for Lenin to have consented to Stalin's promotion to the position of party general secretary and to have even described him as one of the "outstanding leaders."

However, hindsight gives us the knowledge that this high-ranking position started to change Stalin quickly. History records that power "throws light" on leaders better than any X-ray. Stalin underwent a very swift transformation, he soon displayed his negative and immoral potential to the full.

[Logunov] But now we are in a position to evaluate the culmination of this evolution....

[Volkogonov] Yes, following Lenin's death, the revolutionary in the general secretary started rapidly withering away and the dictator started emerging. By the early thirties he was already like a first consul, a caesar. The former revolutionary was hardly recognizable in the tyrant. How could anyone imagine on 28 November 1917 that, shortly before his 70th birthday, in September 1949 alone, Stalin would be capable of approving a whole batch of sentences passed by the USSR MVD Special Board:

on 2 September—30 people sentenced to 20 years penal servitude;
on 10 September—52 people sentenced to 20 years penal servitude;
on 16 September—31 people sentenced to 20 years penal servitude;
on 24 September—76 people sentenced to 20 years penal servitude.

And this continued through all the subsequent months of the few remaining years of the dictator's life. The overwhelming majority of those people were not criminals. And how about the hundreds of lists approved by him personally which sent people to their death? I have already written that I was shocked by his monstrous behavior when on 12 December 1937 he and Molotov sanctioned the execution of 3,167 people by firing squad and went on to watch movies in the evening.... Surely, this "revolutionary" is more akin to someone who mercilessly butchered his own people? Surely it is impossible to avoid recording this typical feature without running a risk of distorting the picture?

[Logunov] Another question, Dmitriy Antonovich: Why was it that Stalin's autocracy so swiftly expanded and established the bureaucracy?

[Volkogonov] The point is that, despite Stalin's declarations, our society did not build "complete socialism" during the years of the autocrat's rule but was only at the painful stage of transition, burdened by a multiplicity of problems. As for the bureaucracy, it is actually capable of driving contradictions and problems deeper inside rather than solving them. For years, thanks to the bureaucracy, the problems of power, the countryside, culture, social thinking, and human rights appeared to have been solved. Internally, the state stimulated the bureaucracy's growth by all possible means: There was a steadily growing need for supervisors, prodders, controllers, censors, planners, norm-setters, inspectors. The foreign policy situation also favored the hardening of the bureaucracy: The more defeats suffered by the international revolutionary movement and the greater the threat of war, the more justified measures to "tighten the screws" appeared. Ultimately, the main victor emerged in the country—the bureaucracy which had gained the upper hand over ideas and the people. The temple of the bureaucracy was in the hands of its high priest—"the great Stalin." Essentially the "leader of the peoples" became the personification of total bureaucracy. The revolutionary lava gushing out of the crater of October was cooled by the chill and indifference of Stalin's bureaucracy. It will be many years before history presents its account for settlement.

[Logunov] Now there is occasional talk about a trial of Stalin. What is your attitude toward this idea?

[Volkogonov] Stalin and Stalinism have suffered a moral defeat—and this is history's verdict. Trial by history is possible thanks to the people's memory. I think that the eternity of which philosophers, historians, and writers talk so much cannot exist elsewhere but in memory. It is people's eternal attempt to come to terms with the end of anything. It is memory that ultimately provides an unbiased appraisal of an epoch, an event, or a person and makes it possible to maintain the link between ages. It is thanks to memory that today we know more truths about Stalin than in his lifetime. Memory, in conjunction with conscience, can more clearly illuminate the terrible truth

about this man. With memory's help it is possible to achieve purification through repentance; we have a lot more left to do in order to shake the torpidity of Stalinism from our souls. Memory alone will help us give all that is due to the millions of the martyrs and victims of Stalin and Stalinism.

[Logunov] You have found a precise definition: Torpidity indeed. But surely there were people who protested in Stalin's lifetime, who showed disagreement with his dictatorial autocracy?

[Volkogonov] The public trial of Stalin began in February 1956 and has been going on for several decades now. But it would be incorrect to believe that during the years of autocracy there were no people who, even at that time, expressed their rejection of Stalin's policy not only in their thoughts but at times even openly. Here are a few examples. The military archives contain many political reports filed with the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army Political Directorate proving that, for example, the bloody terror of 1937-1938 generated not only blind and automatic approval but also dismay, depression, and at times even protest. Let me cite an extract from the political reports by Corps Commissar Govorukhin, Division Commissar Volkov, and Brigade Commissar Kruglov (the reports, as was often the case at that time, give no initials).

"Lieutenant Shkrobat, a nonparty member from 101 Artillery Regiment, said in a conversation with Red Army soldiers that 'he cannot believe Stalin' that 'Yakir and Tukhachevskiy are enemies of the people.'"

"Red Army Private Zubrov: '[Tsar] Nikolay ran out of gallows, now they are running out of bullets. But they can't shoot everybody.'"

"Artillery School lecturer Trushinskiy: 'Is Stalin himself not a Trotskiyite?'"

"Ship commander Kirillov: 'I do not believe that Bukharin and the others are enemies of the people and of socialism. They simply wanted to replace the party leadership.'"

Quite a few such facts are cited in the filed reports. As a rule, they also record: So-and-so "was handed over to NKVD organs for investigation." Perplexity and the slightest protest were immediately stifled. I myself recall Prokop Mochalov, our neighbor in the village, telling my uncle right after the war, sometime in the late forties: "Stalin is tormenting the kolkhozes.... Is this right, to bring the countryside to such a state that for years we've had bread to eat only on holidays? Everything is taken away, and never mind the taxes.... What sort of socialism is that?"

My uncle kept his mouth shut, cautiously looking over his shoulder. I and others like me simply did not know that people could and should live better. After all, in our

own lives we had never experienced anything but privations, perpetual shortages, restrictions, mobilizations. Universal poverty and a regulated and prescribed life had become the norm. Stalin could have been "tried" only by those who were in a position to compare their lives with something else.

I have also seen documentary evidence of other instances of either direct or "Aesopian" anti-Stalin statements by many workers, peasants, engineers, writers, and scientists whose awareness was not totally confused and whose conscience was not deformed. This topic of passive—and at times fierce—social and spiritual protest has still not been properly studied in our country.

[Logunov] Do you expect that some people might say: When painting Stalin's portrait the book's author has limited his range of colors only to the dark and somber ones?

[Volkogonov] I had just one desire: To tell the truth. Really, when I started gathering material for the book some 10 years ago, I was still unable to imagine the baseness of human spirit and immorality that would emerge before me. Following visits to archives and meetings with people who had been through the torments of Stalin's hell, I was often and for a long time haunted by the anguished, tormented, and terrified voices of those whose lives had been brazenly and cruelly taken from them. I could not have written anything else. The evolution of our perception has gone through several stages. I think that attitudes toward Stalin will be calmer in about 15-20 years' time, when there are no more survivors who have lived directly in the "leader's" shadow. Maybe the word "calmer" is inappropriate. What I want to say is that Stalin will go down in history as one of the greatest despots in human civilization, but the distance in time will make the eternal pain less acute. After all, time is not only the best editor and biographer, it is also a healer. But I am certain that future generations will always be amazed by the way in which, in conditions of merciless dictatorship, Stalin's contemporaries managed to preserve their commitment to the ideas of justice and humanism and their ability to remain selflessly devoted and to withstand prolonged martyrdom. Unfortunately the tyrant will never disappear into the mists of time, but we must do everything to ensure that his victims are not consigned to oblivion, either.

[Logunov] So what are the lessons to be learned from your analysis? Condemned, and...what else?

[Volkogonov] There are many lessons to be learned, but let me mention just two. The loftiest policy, when detached from morality, is a false value. Stalin, being a cruel politician, imbued politics with his entire being, leaving absolutely no room for even elementary moral values. This is why the dictator perceived people only as means, as statistical units, as members of an immense and amorphous mass. The criminal disregard for morals

wreaked a cruel vengeance on the "victor": This individual's historical defeat was predestined. This, I believe, will be one of the points in history's verdict.

Stalin's triumph and the people's tragedy clearly illustrated the ancient truth: Truth and veracity are always the first victims of injustice. Stalin managed—and this is possibly his most terrible crime—to deform many great ideas and replace them with his own myths. By interpreting Leninism in his own fashion, the dictator committed a crime against thought. All of Stalin's life and deeds prove that lies are a universal evil. All misfortunes begin with lies. Violence, autocracy, bureaucracy, dogmatism, caesarism—they all thrived on lies. Any alliance with lies is always fraught with misfortune. I think that this will also be noted in history's verdict.

[Logunov] Thank you for the conversation, Dmitriy Antonovich. My last question might seem a little out of context, but even so.... If you know the past well you can perceive the present well and work things out. You have been nominated as a candidate USSR people's deputy. What is your program, what do you deem necessary to support, and what are you against?

[Volkogonov] Let me quote Berdyayev once more. He wrote: "History is prophecy turned backward into the past." I thought to myself: Why "prophecy"? Evidently because there is still a lot that we don't know, at times we have to conjecture, propound hypotheses, build assumptions. History will always contain puzzles, secrets, mystifications. Prophecy is needed before a hypothesis can be proved by reality.

I believe that we are living through one of our history's climactic moments. A painful interpretation of the path we have traveled is now under way. Attempts to nihilistically discard the past are unproductive. It is easy to build a home on a cleared site, but it is impossible to begin with a blank page in society's history. At the same time, there are so many heavy trains trailing behind us.... This is why I believe that today, more than ever before, we need not only energy and determination but also caution, contemplation, and calm.

I am an optimist, and I believe that, in our society, it is possible to achieve social justice, curb inflation, put the bureaucracy in its place, consolidate order, and enhance people's culture. When speaking of **political consolidation**, for example, it is important to achieve the strongest possible rallying of our people around the program of socialist renewal. Not to allow the breakdown of our union of republics. The electoral system needs further improvement; it is abnormal, for example, for one person to have two, three, and even five "votes." All elections must be held with at least two candidates contesting every seat.

The abiding values of democracy. Freedom to express opinions, glasnost, openness, responsibility by everyone, leaders' accountability, and participation by the masses

in the making of the most important decisions—these are the most important attributes of people's power. The holding of referendums must become the norm. There must be regular publication of opinion poll results on questions of statesmen's popularity, the people's attitude toward decisions and resolutions made by the government, and other questions. Democracy must be firmly based on respect for the law, the norms of universal morals, and discipline.

There is need for firm **guarantees of justice**. This means primarily introducing advanced forms of economic management and monitoring social consumption funds and citizens' incomes. We cannot allow millionaires to exist in our country. And yet they do exist, and quite a few of them at that—hundreds of them. It is necessary to review pensions with due consideration for rising prices and the real minimum amount needed to live. To lift restrictions on pensioners' earnings. To give everyone who wants to an opportunity to have a dacha or garden plot outside the city.

What else do I advocate? **Healthy and happy children** constitute the main asset. The basic guideline in children's upbringing is to shape respect for truth, good, and beauty. To increase social funding for children's institutions and schools. Society must provide material remuneration for mothers in return for bringing up their children. Every children's home must have humanitarian sponsorship.

What we need especially today is to **improve the economy's health**. The primary task is to combat inflation. This program, which the government must elaborate and publish, should include: a sharp reduction in state budget expenditures, a reduction in the administrative apparatus and staffs of public organizations by between half and two-thirds, and greater reorientation of the economy toward light industry. Approval of major projects without discussion by the people must not be allowed. The curbing of inflation must not result in price rises. Economic failures can torpedo the entire cause of restructuring. The transition to economic accountability and self-financing should not intensify the irresponsibility of state organs. State orders must be preserved in a volume which guarantees the production of prime necessities in the required quantities. The cooperative movement must be improved without permitting speculative trends within it.

One last point on which I would like to dwell. It is necessary to boost in public awareness the priorities of abiding values: freedom, humanism, democracy, progressive traditions, respect for the people's history, morals. Not to exceed sensible boundaries in commercializing art and sport. To boost the special role of public associations in the sphere of political, moral, and ecological culture. Open up all historical archives to researchers.

Weighty and real achievements are necessary in order to move our society away from the crisis phase. We cannot let history record only failures in the time allotted to us. Ultimately, the "secret" of what our future will be like is simple: If everyone today, in his own position and station, performs his duty—civic, professional, and moral (not in line with "average" standards but in a selfless and creative fashion)—we will be able to make our dreams come true.

[Logunov] I wish you success, Dmitriy Antonovich. Once more, thank you for the conversation. I hope that our readers can rely on your future cooperation with MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA?

[Volkogonov] It will be a pleasure.

* 'Humanization' of Criminal Legislation Debated
WA18000492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article entitled "The Tenacity of Dangerous Delusions" discussing the Draft Principles of Criminal Legislation]

[Text]

Is There Not a Bit Too Much Humaneness?

At one time I happened to be an oblispolkom instructor on the operation of the administrative organs and often had recourse to criminal legislation; moreover, I have a juridical education. All this allows me to take part in the present-day discussion and to state a number of general and specific desiderata.

Striving to bring our criminal legislation into line with international treaties—that is, the desire "to be no worse and no stricter than others"—is, of course, laudable. In this matter, however, we must have a level of development and an overall cultural standard of society at least as high as others. I think that, for the present-day level of our society's development, the principles provide a bit too much humaneness.

Certain people think as follows: The more humaneness, the higher the positive result. But this is not so. Let's imagine a variant of the maximum manifestation of humaneness—the nonapplication of punitive measures for antisocial acts. Would the number of crimes take a favorable downward turn? Hardly. They would increase quite soon. Therefore, I consider it necessary to change the correlation between the degree of punishment and the degree of humaneness manifested in the direction of reducing the latter. To put it specifically, for example, we should spell out more precisely in the document the qualification and application of punishment for premeditated crimes, in contrast to the punishments for unpremeditated crimes. We must distinguish among certain characteristics in applying punishments for crimes against the person. Possibly it would be humane and equitable for a

person who has suffered or whose loved ones have suffered to have their opinions taken into account when determining the guilty person's punishment.

It seems to me that the treatment in Article 3 of the principle of inevitability of responsibility as one of the fundamental principles of criminal legislation is not without fault, inasmuch as further on in the text there are many clauses which mention the possibilities of relieving a person from criminal responsibility.

The concept of crime also needs to be clarified more precisely. Article 8 asserts that a socially dangerous act, as specified in the criminal law, is recognized to be a crime. Does that mean that if a certain socially dangerous act is not specified in the criminal law, it is not a crime? Following the analogy of the existing legislation, it can be said that rackets have so far not been specified therein. Does that mean that engaging in rackets is not criminal? I think that this is very vulnerable and open to criticism.

The law will always follow changing objective requirements in society and, consequently, will always lag somewhat behind them. Even the most experienced legislator will not be able to foresee today everything which tomorrow could turn out to be a socially dangerous act. Therefore, so that the law-enforcement bodies will not prove to be defenseless, I consider it possible to add the following paragraph to Part 1, Article 8: "The court may recognize as criminal an act which poses a great danger to the society, even though such an act is not specified in the criminal law." Furthermore, in the event that this proposed amendment is adopted, I would consider it possible to add to the list of circumstances mitigating responsibility, as cited in Article 43, the following sub-paragraph: "(l) the absence in the criminal legislation of the qualification of a socially dangerous act committed, which has been recognized as criminal by the court."

I can unreservedly agree with the procedure set forth in the draft for sentencing and carrying out punishments only in regard to unpremeditated crimes and crimes committed by minors. But the procedure for applying punishments for premeditated crimes, particularly those against the person, could be a bit stricter, especially for repeated crimes.

An aggregate of premeditated crimes committed by one and the same person convincingly attests to his socially dangerous pathology, his intentional opposition to society, his insolent challenge to the laws and morality. In my opinion, the state should be miserly with its humaneness to such persons. And the procedure specified in Articles 46 and 47 for designating punishments ought to be changed somewhat in the direction of raising the "ceiling" for an aggregate of crimes. V. Olnev,

Chief, General Section, Gorkiy Ispolkom
City of Gorkiy

On the Tenacity of Dangerous Errors: A Scholar's Commentary

First of all, a preliminary idea. The importance of pluralism lies not only in the freedom for everyone to express his own opinion, but also in the possibility for everybody to evaluate the arguments being cited and, at the same time, to evaluate the actual consequences of the proposals being made.

I have no grounds for doubting that V. Olnev's letter was evoked by good aspirations—to achieve successes in the fight against crime. The only question is: On what paths are these successes to be achieved?

The author posits that in the draft Principles of Criminal Legislation there is "a bit too much humaneness," particularly in matters of punishment. Well now, [word illegible] as they say, it's a well-known point of view. Such attitudes have resulted in such a naive, widespread conviction as the following: The harsher the punishments, the easier it is to eradicate crime. But, alas, life, juridical experience, and criminological studies do not confirm this. On the contrary, they frequently attest to tendencies which are just the opposite.

Of course, we must not, as V. Olnev attempts to do, present the maximum manifestation of "our" humaneness in the form of the "nonapplication of punitive measures for antisocial behavior." This has never been the case anywhere. Nor can it be. Humaneness in criminal legislation does not mean an all-forgiving attitude. It is merely a question of applying a punishment which is strictly commensurate with the act committed—that is, equitably and in a mandatory manner, taking the guilty party's individual personality into consideration.

It is important, however, to emphasize something else as well. Humaneness in criminal law is—just imagine—practical. No matter how coldly rational and unnatural this word may sound when applied to a love of mankind, I am going to repeat it again: practical! And a policy of harshly "tightening the screws" has, in fact, brought us nothing but bitterness and an apathetic indifference. Deprivation of liberty for 25 years for the theft of state property has not led us to the desired results, nor did the application of capital punishment for bribery and these same thefts lower the level of crime during the years of stagnation.

But even this is not all—the problem does not boil down to the fruitless experience of long-departed times. Let's address the practice of recent years. There is such a concept as the specific weight of deprivation of liberty. This means the proportion of those persons (among all those convicted) who have been sentenced to deprivation of liberty and sent to corrective-labor settlements or prisons. So, for example, the proportion of those persons deprived of liberty during the years 1986-1987 was

reduced by approximately one-third, as compared to the beginning of the 1980's. Crime, however, did not increase, but instead decreased.

Pay attention just to the value of the time in "man-years" spent (as a result of mitigating punishments) not behind barbed wire, bearing in mind, moreover, that during 1987, for example, for theft of socialist property, theft of personal property, and hooliganism alone some 333,000 persons were convicted. A third of a million!

I do not dispute the fact that a certain number of criminals who have not had deprivation of liberty applied to them do not deserve the trust placed in them. But this number is extremely small. For example, repeat offenders among those persons who have been convicted but given suspended sentences constitute about 10 percent of the total, according to data from sample studies. According to the same data, however, repeat offenders among persons released from corrective-labor institutions amount to two or three times the number cited above. Thus, the overwhelming majority of those who could be "behind barbed wire" have entered, so to speak, upon the true path—they have provided support for themselves and their families, as well as contributing benefits to society by their own labor.

Unfortunately, the time has not yet come when we can do away entirely with deprivation of liberty. Society is still compelled to keep many criminals in isolation. But we do not have the right to leave out of consideration, as was formerly the case, the fact that deprivation of liberty is connected with ruinous outlays in social policy. These outlays prove to be a loss in the real contribution made by every free citizen to strengthening the society. Just think about the following point: Of course, the exclusion of any real possibility for those persons deprived of liberty to participate, let's say, in raising children entails not only fatherlessness, not only a lack of supervision over the children, but even engenders new crime. And what about the losses of health and occupational skills in places where persons are deprived of their liberty? And what about the difficulties connected with returning to a normal life after "serving time"? Let's not cherish any delusions regarding "re-education." Under the present-day mores and procedures prevailing at many corrective-labor institutions it is fortunate if anyone coming "out of there" proves to be no worse than when he went "in there."

That is why the law must apply deprivation of liberty only when a lighter punishment is no longer possible. Such a requirement safeguards not only the guilty person, but also the interests of the entire society.

There is yet another aspect of this problem. The objective basis for gradually reducing the terms of deprivation of liberty in the law and the practice of applying it is the fact that, as prosperity grows in the society, every year spent under conditions of a lack of liberty becomes "more onerous." The perception of a punishment, as

expressed under the same deprivations or limitations, it would seem, is not the same when it is applied to a criminal under specifically different social conditions. Many years of investigating the problems of punishment have led us to the following conclusions: the keenness of the perception of punishment increases in proportion to social progress to the expansion of the accessible wealth of civilization, as well as the strengthening and development of moral principles in the life of societies. Consequently, under present-day conditions, lighter punishments are likewise attaining their own goal.

It is likely that V. Olnev also shares these viewpoints. But solely with regard to foreign countries and their highly cultured citizens. A citizen of our Fatherland, would not, of course, understand a humane punishment; he has not yet developed to this stage. As well-known satirists say: It's an interesting thought, isn't it?

There is also a bit too much humaneness, the author considers, in the concept of a crime as an act specified solely by law. So that we may not turn out to be defenseless when confronted by criminals, it is necessary, the author asserts, to grant the court the right to recognize as crimes such actions which are not directly specified by law.

Judging by everything he writes, V. Olnev is disturbed by the thought that someone, God forbid, might avoid responsibility for actions which even our strict Criminal Code does not recognize as crimes! And if he is not to be responsible by law, what about a snap judgement on the spot? Does not this bother him any longer? Or is his faith that the "organs" make no mistakes still firm?

It may be said that the following maxim, commonly accepted by world civilization: "If it is not so indicated in the law, it is not a crime" has been achieved through the suffering, historical experience of mankind. It is strange, of course, that a person who "often had recourse to criminal legislation and who, moreover, has a juridical education," is unfamiliar with this maxim, which has been confirmed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

It is not difficult, however, to foresee the arbitrary rule which would be inevitable if crime were to be recognized as merely that which, in the opinion of a law-enforcement body, constitutes a danger to the society. Unfortunately, we do not have to study this part of a sad experience either: from the mid-1920's right down to 1958 a norm was in force which provided for the application of criminal law by analogy. Abandoning such analogies is unanimously recognized by our entire juridical society as one of the principal steps on the path of liquidating the Stalinist "legality," ensuring the freedom and inviolability of the individual. But, as can be seen, the dead grasp the living; a longing for the past is still powerful.

It should be noted that the arguments in favor of a return to analogies, despite all their obvious unconvincingness and low level of education, are, alas, still tenaciously vital in the consciousness of some of our other fellow citizens. In recent times I have often had occasion to read about the scandalous defenselessness of the criminal law which supposedly provides no responsibility at all for certain dangerous acts. Here too V. Olnev is indignant that the existing criminal legislation has no specification against rackets, and therefore... engaging in them does not constitute a crime. Indeed, the Code does not specify any responsibility for "rackets." The RSFSR's Criminal Code is written in Russian, and understandably no specification is made against "killing," but rather against murder. And why, my dear jurist, should an exception be made for rackets? Open your dictionary. A racket is nothing but extortion or blackmail. Now turn to the criminal legislation. Articles 95 and 148 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (and the corresponding articles of the criminal codes of the union republics) establish responsibility for extortion—that is, a demand to hand over some wealth under the threat of violence or the disclosure of some very shameful information. I maintain that it would have been sufficient merely to familiarize oneself with a dictionary of foreign words and the text of the Code in order to avoid making at least such loud and panicky assertions about the lacunae in the law. It is quite another matter that the norms regarding extortion required improvement, and aggravating circumstances have recently been incorporated into the law—dealing with extortion committed by an organized group of persons, etc. So, is there responsibility for rackets (extortion) or not? Pardon me, but an assertion to the contrary somehow does not jibe with the professional skills which a certified jurist ought to possess. I. Galperin,

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Moscow

*** Reforms in Women's Labor Camps Discussed**
WA18000471 Moscow SEMYA in Russian
25 Jan 89 p 4

[Interview with Lt Col V.N. Prokopenko, senior reviewer of "On the Knights From the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Women From the Corrective Labor Institutions" by V. Yakov]

[Text] Our weekly has more than once published material about incarcerated teenagers and women. Today, we are happy to report that the positive changes taking place in society have affected even the corrective labor institutions [ITU].

Senior reviewer of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Press Bureau, Internal Security Service Lt Col Vladimir Nikolayevich Prokopenko, describes the essence of these reforms.

[Prokopenko] Let's begin by pointing out that in the last 2 years, the number of convicted women in prison locations has been reduced by more than half. In connection with this, in the same period indicated, ten ITU's for women have been eliminated, including one in the Arkhangelsk, Vologda, Gorkie, Irkutsk, Kalinin, Kuybyshev, Sverdlov oblasts, and in the Bashkir, Mordva and Chuvash ASSR's.

Women are now sentenced to imprisonment, as a rule, only for the most serious offenses. The internal structure of the elements of the crimes of those serving sentences today in women's ITU's is typical in this regard: 12.9 percent have been convicted of premeditated murder; robbery and burglary, 9.4 percent; inflicting premeditated bodily harm, 5.4 percent; theft of personal property, 28.4 percent; theft and embezzlement of state property, 14.4 percent.

[Yakov] The two largest amnesties of recent decades were carried out in 1986-1987, one of them especially for women convicts. Some readers adamantly protest such actions, calling them excessively liberal. What do you have to say on this issue?

[Prokopenko] First of all, that I do not agree at all with such views. Mercy and human kindness toward those who are released are indicators of society's deep vital force, its humanity. A reminder; under the circumstances of the Civil War and foreign intervention, V. I. Lenin and the VTsIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee] repeatedly issued decrees of amnesty for certain categories of crime, even for the political enemies of Soviet power. Today, applying such a step to convicted women is even more justified. After all, as shown by the grim statistics of our institutions, when located in a colony, women lose their spouses, families, hearth and home several times more rapidly than convicted men.... If these facts are not convincing, let's go back to the figures. In the year after the amnesty in honor of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October, the broadest amnesty in the last 35 years, only three percent of those released committed new crimes. Among the women released, that figure was significantly lower. Thus the conclusion is simple: The basic number of those released justified society's trust!

[Yakov] In view of this, the readers of SEMYA wonder: How can the principle of presumption of innocence, one of the fundamental principles of a rule-of-law state, be reconciled with the fact that those under investigation, including women, are located in investigatory isolation, under the same conditions as those convicted?

[Prokopenko] The leadership of USSR MVD has already taken concrete measures to change that situation. In January of this year, within the framework of its rights and empowerment, a directive was published by the ministry which significantly improved the conditions of confinement for those under investigation, especially minors and women. What are we talking about?

Venetian blinds were taken off the cell windows. Visits are held in individual rooms, not through telephones and barriers. In the corridors of regime wards, "boxes" for temporary confinement of prisoners under guard have been eliminated. Believers are allowed to keep articles of religious cults (with the exception of those made of precious metals and stones).

In cells where minors and women are confined, there will be mandatory one-level beds with metal frames, and in cells for women with children, youth beds and hotplates for heating children's food and boiling water. For pregnant women and women with children all SIZO [expansion unknown] will be provided with separate landscaped exercise yards with playing areas for children, and for teenagers. It is proposed that these yards be provided with sports equipment.

Conditions have been humanized for regime violators. It has been acknowledged that within the limits of the established norms, in the institution sales booths are allowed, as well as receipt of packages of any type of foodstuff, with the exception of alcoholic beverages and medicinal preparations.

Those working in the vocational education shops of SIZO are allowed to install small refrigerators in their cells in exchange for the wages of their work. I emphasize that these are the changes implemented by the USSR MVD within the framework of current legislation. As these resolutions were being adopted, the suggestions expressed by means of the mass media, including the weekly SEMYA, were taken into consideration.

[Yakov] Well, it's clear that the new leadership of MVD is beginning to convert the concepts of restructuring and humanization into concrete acts. But it seems that the fundamental work in this direction still lies ahead?

[Prokopenko] The further in-depth restructuring of the corrective labor process requires serious legislative initiatives. In its resolution "On Legal Reform," the 19th All-Union Party Conference called for a radical reevaluation of the corrective labor legislation now in effect. This work is now being conducted by the VNII [All-Union Scientific Research Institute] of the USSR MVD, and by the services in the ministry involved in the corrective labor process. A "doctrinal model" of the fundamentals of the new legislation has already been prepared.

[Yakov] If you can, please name some of the changes in women's ITU's proposed in the model.

[Prokopenko] Two types of women's colonies are proposed: general and strict regimes. Within each type of regime, women will be maintained on differentiated levels, with basic or improved conditions of maintenance, depending on behavior and work attitude. This is a qualitatively new approach. With improved maintenance conditions under the general regime, convicted

women can be released from work for 12 calendar days, with or without permission to leave the bounds of the corrective labor colony. Under the strict regime, a release of 9 days may be awarded, but without leaving the colony. There are many other changes, but time will tell how the legislator deals with them....

I simply want to say that all work to fulfill the decisions on the radical reevaluation of the corrective labor legislation now in effect will be carried out under conditions of glasnost, taking into consideration the opinion of the mass information media and the broader public. Thus, according to the plan confirmed in the ministry in April of this year USSR MVD will hold a special news conference. I take this opportunity, on behalf of the press bureau of the USSR MVD political department, to request that the weekly SEMYA participate in and prepare questions for it.

[Yakov] Thank you. Your invitation is accepted. For our part, we ask the readers of SEMYA to send the editors questions that they would want to ask the USSR MVD at this news conference.

"Doctor Zhivago" Shown for First Time in USSR
PM1602161589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[V. Malukhin report: "Year Before the Centenary"]

[Text] For 2 days readings of Pasternak's works organized by the commission on the poet's literary legacy, headed by A. Voznesenskiy, have been given in the Central House of Writers.

Scientists, writers, public figures, and poetry lovers took part in the readings. There was a soiree in memory of Boris Pasternak where for the first time a Soviet audience was shown the movie "Doctor Zhivago" supplied by the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

The present Pasternak readings are the second so far, which means that it is already possible to speak of the birth of a tradition giving every indication of becoming a significant event in our cultural life. This name, a magical one to the reader yet so long deprived of public recognition, has finally taken its place among the galaxy of brilliant poets whose names are remembered on special days each year.

The shameful decision to expel Boris Pasternak from the USSR Writers' Union was marked today, his ill-fated novel has been published, and, as Yu. Lyubimov stated at the soiree at the Central House of Writers, the staging of "Doctor Zhivago" at the Taganka Theater is already in preparation.... But like a piece of bad news from the past, like a bitter reminder and an unforgettable lesson to us, the minutes of that Moscow writers' meeting which mercilessly attacked Pasternak 30 years ago were appended to the program of the readings distributed to

those taking part. However, the poet had a different notion of time, art, and himself: "I have made the whole world weep over the beauty of my land...."

The program of readings this time included a discussion of Pasternak's poetic style and biography, creative links with his predecessors and contemporaries, the theme of Georgia, and the poet's dialogue with world culture.... The Pasternak readings are at the beginning of the year while at the end of the year there are the traditional "December soirees" dedicated this time to Pasternak. Such is the special prologue to the centenary of the poet's birth which will be commemorated next February. UNESCO will also be holding jubilee events.

Solovyev Attends Theatrical Soiree 13 Feb
PM1702094989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Master of the Stage"]

[Text] Leningrad, 13 Feb—Excerpts from modern and classical pieces staged by USSR People's Artist Igor Vladimirov made up the program for the evening of work celebrating the 70th birthday of this well-known director and actor. It was held today at the Leningrad Academy Drama Theater named for the Leningrad City Soviet, of which theater he has been director for more than 25 years.

He himself appeared in several of his roles of recent seasons. The biggest of them was that of Professor Preobrazhenskiy in M. Bulgakov's play "Heart of a Dog."

The evening was attended by Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad Party Obkom.

Economic

Economic Benefits of Military Conversion Cited
PM1702085389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by A. Lopukhin: "Conversion. What It Means. Problems and Prospects of the Transfer of Military Production to a Civilian Footing"]

[Text] The issue of switching from an economy of armaments to an economy of disarmament—or, as they say, the issue of conversion of military production—occupies an important place in the process of implementing the principles of the new political thinking. Addressing the United Nations, M.S. Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union is prepared to devise and submit its own internal conversion plan and in the course of 1989 to prepare, as an experiment, plans for the transfer of two or three defense enterprises to civilian production. He added that the Soviet Union will make public its

own experience of finding jobs for experts from the military industry and of using its equipment, buildings, and facilities in civilian production.

Only recently the complex range of conversion problems was mainly the preoccupation of people who were often accused of being pie-in-the-sky types, out of touch with reality. Now, since the entry into force of the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, questions of transferring military production to a civilian footing have become practical matters. The Soviet and U.S. enterprises which used to produce the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles that come under the treaty are being switched to civilian production.

But the wholesale transfer of military production to a civilian footing will become a reality only if a "conversion" takes place in the way of thinking of the powers that be and of those who see the arms race as a source of prosperity. And there are many of them. For example, according to Professor S. Melman of Columbia University, in the United States the jobs and incomes of around 8.5 million people are dependent on Pentagon orders. If you add the members of their families, it turns out that these orders feed nearly 20 million people. You also have to include the enterprises and firms whose revenue depends on the purchasing power of those who are employed in military sectors of the economy. This constitutes a pretty large section of the U.S. population.

At the same time, the size of the U.S. military-industrial complex should not be exaggerated: It constitutes no more than 15-20 percent of the country's economy, and approximately one-tenth of the 500 major U.S. corporations are part of it. That is, it would be wrong to equate the interests of the military-industrial complex with the interests of monopoly capital as a whole.

However, there are barriers of all kinds in the way of conversion. In fact, if military production is suddenly stopped, difficulties—economic and social—of varying degrees will arise in many countries. The ideologists and practitioners of militarism skillfully exploit the fear of millions of people for whom military production has become a means of existence. For the former the arms race is not just a source of giant profits, but literally their life. How do you overcome or reduce to a reasonable level the united resistance of the military-industrial complex and those who sincerely believe that guns can bring you butter?

Scientists have been arguing for over 100 years about whether expenditure on military production is the driving force behind the economy or a brake on it. Many of them, beginning with Adam Smith and David Ricardo, tried to show that the diversion of funds, manpower, and scientific research to the economically inefficient military sphere slows down economic development. But

there have always been researchers, although their numbers are dwindling and their authority is diminishing, who do not accept this thesis, which is obvious even in terms of basic common sense.

Some try to play down the influence of military expenditure on economic activity. Others try to demonstrate that dollars invested in the defense industry have approximately the same effect as funds put into civilian sectors. And there are some who see an increase in expenditure on thriving military production as a means of stabilizing market demand, ensuring that industry is fully occupied, and generally stimulating the economy. Moreover, people try to justify "defense" expenditure by saying that it contributes to the creation and preservation of favorable conditions for the growth of the particular country's international prestige and prosperity.

Propaganda of these concepts—which are championed in the United States, for example, by G. Adams and D. Gold—made a by no means insignificant contribution to the fact that in recent years U.S. defense budgets have become a "sacred cow" that devours around \$300 billion annually.

These questions are something more than purely economic and are having an important effect on policy in the security sphere.

In conversation with the writer of these lines, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.P. Karpov noted that the assessment of economic factors certainly influences the position of the countries involved in arms reduction talks, albeit, perhaps, not that directly and openly.

And although it is often harder to demonstrate the obvious, in recent years the voice of common sense has increasingly been heard in debates on the role of military production in the economy. According to the U.S. economist M. di Ouden [name as transliterated], an increasing amount of research is being produced confirming that military expenditure inhibits economic and technological development. This fact, J. Galbraith, patriarch of U.S. economists, believes, is now perceived much more clearly and correctly.

According to T. Dzhevazi [name as transliterated], director of the New York center for military research and analysis, any military expenditure causes economic damage. Such expenditure, he believes, is inflationary, leads to an increase in the cost of goods and services, and takes raw material and technical experts away from civilian sectors. A pay increase for people employed in the U.S. military-industrial complex leads to an increase in consumer demand but does not contribute to the expansion of the supply of goods and services to meet it; it reduces labor productivity and makes U.S. goods less competitive. Moreover, military programs increase the federal budget deficit.

Although at certain stages of the economic cycle, characterized by underutilization of production capacities, military expenditure can to some extent stimulate ultimate demand and create jobs. In the long term it has an adverse effect on the economy. This is confirmed by a whole series of studies which compare the economic indicators of countries with high and low levels of military expenditure over the past 20-30 years. For example, R. Smith and colleagues at the University of London carried out a comprehensive analysis of the interdependence between the dynamics of capital investments, rates of growth, and unemployment levels in 14 industrially developed countries over a 20-year period. A clear pattern emerges: In places where military expenditure is relatively smaller, the economic indicators look much healthier.

The main threat used to intimidate those who are employed in the military industry or who have links with it is the claim that disarmament and conversion lead to increased unemployment. But experience of reconversion—whereby, after World War II, enterprises in many countries returned to prewar or new, but civilian, production—refutes this thesis. Numerous studies by economists in Britain, the United States, and the FRG show that to create one job in military production considerably more is required in the way of capital investments than in civilian production (four times as much, according to some estimates). According to U.S. Congress Budget Office data, every \$10 billion spent on military needs creates 40,000 fewer jobs than if the money were spent on civilian programs.

There is still a rather widespread view, and not only among scientists, that expenditure on military research contributes to scientific and technical progress. Although in some cases military technology developments have led to technological innovations in aviation, computers, and some other areas, defense expenditure is an expensive and inefficient means of stimulating scientific and technical development.

According to UN data, not more than one-fifth of military research in all countries has been used for civilian purposes. And when you consider that around 40 percent of all scientists and engineers are involved in this only 20-percent efficient research, the conclusion is obvious: Military programs are in effect a substantial brake on mankind's scientific and technical development.

In the United States the advocates of the SDI program describe it as virtually the main driving force behind the development of the technology of the future, which can also be utilized for civilian purposes. But a recent report by the Council for Economic Priorities organization says that the technological innovations which appear as a result of the implementation of this most expensive program will be used in civilian sectors of production only on an insignificant scale. This is the conclusion of the majority of economists from the 40 companies and

firms involved in SDI development. As the military technology becomes more exotic, the possibility of its utilization in civilian sectors diminishes.

UN experts believe that conversion of military production, despite all its complexities, is not something unusual. In any country's economy there is a continuous restructuring process going on and production of obsolete products is being replaced by production of new ones. In military sectors, too, there is a constant turnover of the types of arms being produced. So conversion is primarily a political issue to whose solution there are no insuperable economic or social barriers.

In the Western countries nearly the entire military industry is controlled by the state or depends on it. In the United States 90 percent of military equipment is produced by private firms and the products are ordered and purchased by the Pentagon, which guarantees sales and profits. Therefore, as UN experts stress, it is the state that should play the chief role in switching military production to civilian.

Inga Thorsson, who back in 1984 prepared a report on military production conversion for the Swedish Government in collaboration with a group of researchers, shows that a 50-percent reduction of armed forces, armaments, and the defense sector of industry over a 25-year period would not give rise to any serious problems at the national economic level.

An International Labor Office report contains the conclusion that there are practically no production specialities in the defense sector that could not be used in the civilian sphere, and therefore retraining of workers and engineers would not be very costly. Although some people would have the problem of finding work that pays as well as the military sector, these difficulties are perfectly soluble and would only be short-term ones. Given a proper plan, the completely painless conversion of a large-sized military enterprise might take 1-3 years depending on the degree of change in technology, equipment, and supply of new materials.

Studies by various authors have examined methods of financing enterprises during the transfer from military to civilian production. Some propose creating conversion funds made up of payments from the profits of the enterprises themselves and others see the need for government aid of the type that is envisaged in a number of Western countries for sectors in which major modernization is taking place.

Conversion preparations are greatly aided by the process of diversification and military industrialists' penetration of civilian markets, which reduces their dependence on revenue from military orders and fluctuations in the political situation. In the United States, for example, even within the framework of the military-industrial complex, there are not that many corporations that are more than 80 percent dependent on military production.

The most farsighted entrepreneurs do not make their economic prosperity entirely dependent on the military market but keep a sharp eye on the potential of the civilian market.

In conclusion it should be said that although not all the aforementioned studies (bills on conversion have also been discussed in the United States) have so far been implemented in Western governments' specific plans, they perform a positive role by showing the advocates of the arms race and those who work for the military industry that conversion is not only feasible but can have positive socioeconomic results.

What is needed today is comprehensive new studies reinforcing the ideas of the new political thinking with economic calculations in order to dispel fears and persuade those who still believe that disarmament and conversion are fraught with economic crisis and military expenditure is a necessity.

Now that the Soviet leader in his UN address has drawn the world public's attention to the problem of converting military production, one must be prepared for extensive international debate, exchange of experience, and cooperation. During this process it would not hurt to analyze in an unbiased way what justification there is for the restrictions that exist here on access to the facts in this sphere, without which the elaboration of an economic model of a world without weapons must remain wishful thinking.

RSFSR Economic Personnel Cut by Streamlining
PM1702104789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian Second Edition 15 Feb 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Excerpts] Current and long-term questions of the RSFSR's economic development were examined at the latest session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [passage omitted]

The session examined the question of the implementation of the the RSFSR general economic management scheme. The scheme was drawn up in line with the decisions of the CPSU 27th Congress on the basis of proposals from the party and economic organs of autonomous republics, krais, oblasts, and ministries and departments of the RSFSR and approved by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution of 8 July 1988. One of its main tasks is to reduce the management apparatus and remove superfluous elements, which is an essential condition for economic restructuring.

The implementation of the planned measures has made it possible to switch to two-tier management in industrial sectors and to a basically three-tier management system in the social sphere. The number of ministries and

departments has been cut, and 84 republic associations have been disbanded. The number of RSFSR ministry and department apparatus workers has been cut from 32,100 to 18,800. The streamlining of management organizational structures in autonomous republics and at the kray and oblast level has made it possible to reduce the number of apparatus workers by 53,600, or 27.4 percent. [passage omitted]

***Moscow TU Council Chairman States Union Tasks**
18000527 Moscow TRUD in Russian
11 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with V. P. Shcherbakov, chairman of the Moscow City Trade Union Council, by B. Shestakov: "Under Strict Worker Control"]

[Text] Moscow—"Total worker control—this is what we need," emphasized M.S. Gorbachev at a meeting with the aktiv of the capital party organization. A TASS correspondent speaks about the experience and problems in the activity of worker controllers in the capital with the chairman of the Moscow City Trade Union Council, V. P. Shcherbakov.

[Shestakov] Vladimir Pavlovich, the recent plenum of the AUCCTU nominated you as a candidate for USSR people's deputy. How would you formulate the essence of your preelection program?

[Shcherbakov] I will say right now that the organized workers of the capital totally support the preelection address of the CPSU and the platform of the Soviet labor unions. At the same time we have to decide a number of specific questions which have developed in Moscow over the last decade. These include, above all, the serious arrears in the social sphere, even in comparison to the established normatives, which, frankly, are not very high.

The recent 28th city party conference named as the priority tasks an accelerated solution to the housing and food problems, increased output of consumer goods, and also the organization of effective worker control over the distribution of material goods. If the first group of problems does not depend directly on our activity, the second task is fully the responsibility of the trade unions.

This is why in September of last year the Moscow City Trade Union Council took practical measures to activate and improve worker control over the sphere of distribution. In this work we are relying on broad support from party organizations and labor collectives. The first steps have shown that this is truly virgin territory.

[Shestakov] But what specific tasks have been set for the capital's worker control, what spheres does its activity include, and has cooperation been arranged with people's control?

[Shcherbakov] Our primary goal is to impose a clear-cut policy in places that have not yet been reached by the "healing sword" of glasnost. This means the eradication of bureaucratism in the activity of soviet agencies and the trade union agencies themselves as well as other institutions, and also the distribution of housing, commodities and groceries that are in short supply, passes to health resorts and other material goods, and improvement of trade in the capital, public catering, and consumer services.

Alas, departmental state control has not been very effective here. Apparently it is necessary to place under worker control not only individual trade enterprises, but also agencies for its management. Therefore we are working closely with the rayon soviets and their deputy commissions and with people's control agencies, and we take strict immediate measures in keeping with the results of comprehensive inspections of the state of affairs in one branch or another.

[Shestakov] Who comprises the nucleus of the worker controllers, and what forms and methods are used in their fight against negative phenomena?

[Shcherbakov] Tens of thousands of leading workers of the capital are worker controllers, about whom, as V. I. Lenin demanded, one might say that "they do not take a word on faith, and they do not say a word against their conscience." A leading role in imposing order is increasingly being played by local trade union organizations of Moscow enterprises.

Worker control operations groups are created on the basis of divisions of rayispolkoms and trade union committees of large enterprises. They are given the necessary authority and, let me remark, have already earned the hostility in response from the leaders who are being criticized. Rayons of the capital have been assigned city branch trade unions in which, as in the Moscow City Trade Union Committee, special worker agencies have been created.

A special group is receiving telephone messages from Moscow citizens concerning shortcomings in the work of trade, public catering, and consumer services. They have already received more than 4,000, and all the reports are carefully checked with the enlistment of worker control groups, and a summary of the results of the inspections is sent each day to the economic agencies so that the necessary measures can be taken. Additional worker control posts have been organized in a number of rayispolkoms, Glavmosbyt, Glavmoszhiluproavleniye, in the trade organizations, at the fruit and vegetable bases.

Our goal is not to catch but to help. Thus we do not simply take measures regarding specific cases, but eliminate the social roots of the abuses and negative phenomena. This is why we are actually fighting not against workers in trade, public catering, or the sphere of services, but on behalf of their interests. For today the load

for a sales person or a cashier-controller is twice what it is in other cities. We insist on improving their social and domestic conditions; on introducing the brigade, rental, and family contract; and on increasing salaries.

Special attention is devoted to the expansion of glasnost. The public press center that has been created under the Moscow City Trade Union Council reports the results of control inspections through the press, radio, and television.

[Shestakov] And what are the first results of the inspections that have been conducted?

[Shcherbakov] We have summarized the results of 1,500 inspections during the course of which we have revealed numerous cases of violation of Soviet legislation and principles of social justice. Thus the inspection of the practice of distributing holiday food orders showed that the provision of these for industrial enterprises was considerably worse than for, say, the trade workers themselves, the workers of the ministries and departments, legal protection agencies, and other "prestigious" institutions. In the stores and at the bases they hid away a significant quantity of goods that are in high demand. The situation was bad with respect to the storage and sale of fruit and vegetable products. It was possible to improve the situation significantly by the New Year's holidays, when the majority of labor collectives were provided with 70-80 percent of their orders.

Many outrages were revealed by the comprehensive inspection of the organization of traveling trade at enterprises and institutions. Here too the lion's share of the goods that are in short supply were delivered to workers of central and city departments and also workers of the police, prosecutor's office, and the courts, which, it would seem, should have been making sure that everything was in order in the branch. The supplies allotted to them sometimes exceeded by a factor of 10 the quantity of goods offered to collectives of industrial enterprises and builders.

Urgent action was necessary to rectify the situation. Because of this food orders are now being issued to 98 percent of the enterprises and institutions. At 619 enterprises they have organized comprehensive receiving points for the sphere of services. A system has been set up for assigning labor collectives to specific trade enterprises and the distribution of supplies has been provided for. We have changed over from admonitions to a merciless battle: 17 economic leaders have been expelled from the trade union, and materials on them have been turned over to the investigation agencies and party committees. We have expressed a lack of confidence in seven managers, and disciplinary action has been taken against many of them.

But the effectiveness of our actions is still not 100 percent. Sometimes we express a lack of confidence in a specific individual, but he remains in the party and in his

position. This was the case, in particular, with the director of store No 21 in Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon, A. Zadvornyy, who was proven guilty of violating trade rules.

We have developed constructive proposals to eliminate the roots of negative phenomena. Goods that are in high demand, for example, should be distributed exclusively through labor collectives. Trade union representatives should also monitor the introduction and distribution of apartments and garden plots, and the operation of plant dining rooms and city public catering enterprises.

It is also necessary to bring order into the distribution of goods that are in short supply among war and labor veterans, families with many children, and other categories of the population who are given benefits.

[Shestakov] Vladimir Pavlovich, how, in your opinion, are the functions of the trade unions changing in the current stage of restructuring?

[Shcherbakov] The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference gave a powerful impetus to the activity of such a mass organization as the trade unions. It is as though we are reevaluating our place in the political system of the Soviet society and shrugging off our passive role of "drive belt."

But the main thing, of course, is that we are finally getting rid of our old baggage—the outdated style and methods of trade union work—and concentrating our efforts on the basic directions. A process of democratization of life within the trade union has begun, and the independence and initiative of the local organizations are becoming stronger. The function of protecting the rights and interests of the workers is coming to the fore.

And all this with increased attention to questions of the economy. For only on the path to radical reform is it possible to make appreciable changes in the social sphere. The introduction of *khozraschet* and new forms of labor organization—this is the key to making the problems that the trade unions are solving today be a thing of the past, so that Moscow residents, like all Soviet people, will be actually convinced that the restructuring is serving man.

Opinions and Proposals

It does not say in the draft of the provisions concerning worker control when people elected to groups and commissions will take over the control and how they will be paid for the working time they devote to this public duty.

Our trade union chairman, for example, suggested organizing control of the base that supplies food products for kindergartens and day nurseries. We have calculated that with daily inspections (and this is required), about 500

man-days a year will be spent on this activity with a wage fund of 10,000 rubles. How can an enterprise do this under *khozraschet* conditions?

[signed] V. Golovchenko, chief of trolley depot No 2, Tashkent

Next to the military depot where I work as an employee, there is a PX store and also a PX dining room. They are essentially operating without any supervision.

In our trade union organization we have repeatedly raised the question of the organization of control over the operation of these trading points, but we have received no support.

Unfortunately, in the draft of the provisions on worker control it does not say whether the trade union organization of the so-called civilian employees in a military unit can create their own worker control group.

A. Milner, Kharkov

Scientific

Armenian Nuclear Plant Unit To Shut Down
LD1602184989 Moscow TASS in English
1842 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—"The first unit of the Armenian nuclear plant will be closed down in 10 days' time," Leonid Voronin, USSR first deputy minister of the atomic power industry, told TASS. A decision of the USSR Council of Ministers on the shut-down of the power plant and measures to provide the Transcaucasian republics with energy resources was taken last January as a forced measure after the Armenian earthquake.

The stoppage of the unit will evidently tell on the power budget of Armenia and Transcaucasia as a whole somewhat later, noted the deputy minister. "It is not accidental," Leonid Voronin went on to say, "that the first set will be closed down late in February, the last winter month, and the second—in mid-March when the spring comes and it is warmer. We seek to ease the shortage of energy at the initial stage in this way."

An expert commission checked up the state of the unit on the spot and discussed how the cooling of the reactor and transportation of fuel will be carried out. Voronin pointed out that the Armenian atomic plant continues operating stably, and specialists have nothing to say on the entire technological cycle.

Citizens of the Transcaucasian republics and of the Soviet Union were informed of how the atomic plant will be stopped. The deputy minister noted that the intersectoral council for public relations was set up in the USSR in the recent past. One of its main tasks is to analyse the opinion of population on technical, economic and ecological aspects of atomic energy uses.

Designer Cites Plans for 'Energia' Space System
LD1602201989 Moscow World Service in English
1200 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] In most probability, the Soviet reusable spacecraft "Buran" will perform its next flight in an automatic mode again. This was said by the chief designer of the "Energia Buran" (?rocket) space system, Yuriy Semenov. He expressed the belief that nothing will stand in the way of the new launch of the spacecraft, since it showed an excellent performance during its first mission. The program of the next flight should help bring out all the potentialities of the space vehicle. Yuriy Semenov did not rule out the possibility of the interaction between "Buran" and the orbital station "Mir," now manned by a Soviet crew.

Aircraft Automatic Landing System Tested
LD1702002289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1117 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Leningrad, 16 Feb (TASS)—A microwave system for the automatic landing of aircraft, developed by Leningrad specialists, will be used not only in space travel but also by Aeroflot. It operated successfully during an experimental flight of "Buran," the Soviet Union's first reusable spacecraft, and has now been handed over for reequipping civil aviation airports. Under a program drawn up by the Soviet air company, 10 major USSR airports will have been fitted with the new generation of electronic equipment by the year 1995.

A TASS correspondent was told by Prof Gennadiy Gromov, director of All-Union Radio Equipment Institute, that the system meets International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) standards. It operates in the centimeter radiowave range, which creates considerably greater technological and functional possibilities compared with equipment currently being used. Highly sensitive receiving and transmitting devices aboard airliners and at ground control centers make it possible to carry out take-offs and landings in practically any weather. The new system is less subject to interference, has a larger operating range, ensures the safety of flights in the busy zone of airports, and thereby increases their handling capacity.

Soviet specialists have been perfecting the civil aviation system in conjunction with U.S. colleagues from NASA.

Military

Help for Discharged Soldiers Discussed
PM1702102189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 16 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel S. Levitskiy report: "USSR Armed Forces Reduction: Concern for Everyone"]

[Text] The Main Personnel Directorate together with other USSR Defense Ministry directorates and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems is

elaborating measures to provide servicemen discharged in connection with the reduction in the USSR Armed Forces in 1989-1990 with employment and social welfare security.

Military commissariats must assist in organizing the work of special commissions for labor and housing and amenity provision under the ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies.

Extensive explanatory work is being organized among the servicemen being discharged to recruit them to the country's enterprises and construction sites and help people who have served in regions of the Far North and in other equivalent localities conclude labor contracts to work in these regions.

The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems envisages recruiting discharged servicemen for work in enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses in those areas where they worked prior to being drafted for military service.

They must be given material assistance for initial purchases and other due benefits and privileges.

Military commissariats will regularly provide soviet ispolkoms with information on these men and the members of their families who have expressed a wish to work in particular areas. The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, together with the USSR Defense Ministry, envisages developing a system of various training courses for these men in order to give them a profession. Special attention is devoted to servicemen who have expressed a desire to settle and work in agricultural regions.

The USSR Defense Ministry is elaborating concrete measures to provide the servicemen being discharged into the reserve with housing which should definitely reduce the acuteness of the problem.

The USSR Defense Ministry Central Financial, Military Medical, and Main Billeting and Maintenance Directorates should adopt special measures to organize and supervise the privileges and prerogatives granted to servicemen. The stress here is laid on concrete work in the localities rather than on the publication of new directives. For it is a matter of the future of thousands of people and of each one of them personally.

At the same time there is the matter of registering all native Muscovites who have spent their military service as officers and who were drafted into the USSR Armed Forces from the capital.

All these questions were discussed in detail at a conference held in the Main Personnel Directorate involving representatives from a number of USSR Defense Ministry main and central directorates and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems.